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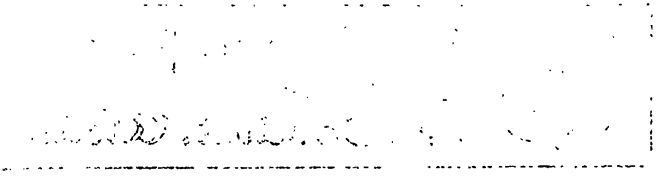
Ancient Cities

General Editor: B. C. A. Windle, F.R.S., F.S.A.

WELLS AND GLASTONBURY

A HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CITIES



The Market Place,
Cathedral,
and Conduit: Wells

WELLS AND GLASTONBURY

A HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

WRITTEN BY
THOMAS SCOTT HOLMES
ILLUSTRATED BY
EDMUND H. NEW

LONDON
METHUEN AND CO.

M.R.
[1908]

453512

First Published in 1908

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PREFACE

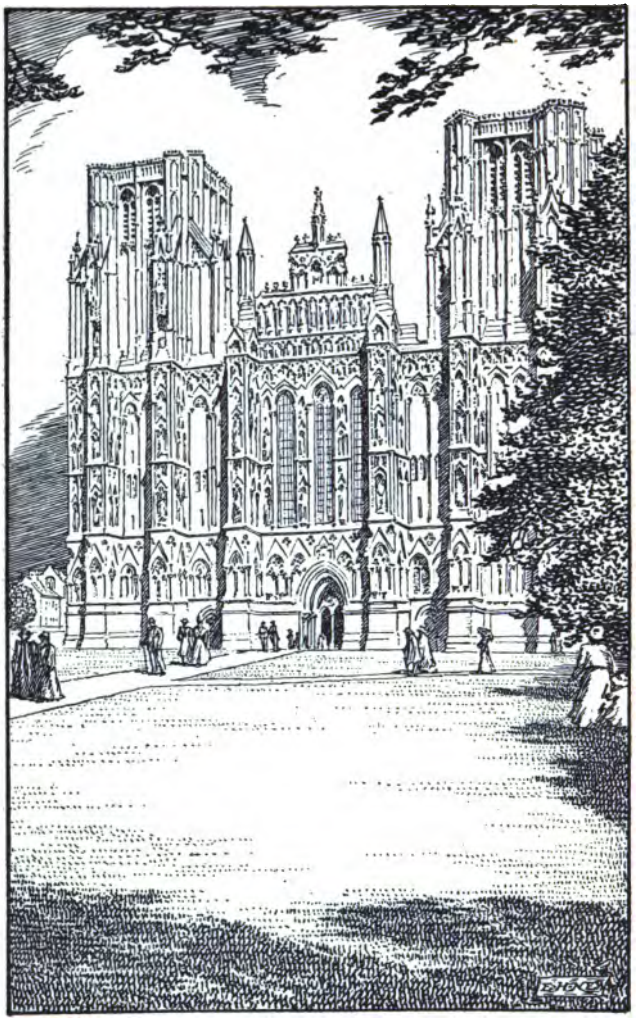
It is almost impossible in writing on such historic places as Wells and Glastonbury to be very original. Nearly everything that could be said has already been said, and the books that have been written about them would almost fill a library. One enters timorously on the task. The path seems so down-trodden that it would seem impossible to make any fresh impression. And yet this little book does claim a certain amount of originality. It is the first to place the history of the town or city side by side with that of the religious foundation attached to it. The story of the struggles of the Wells burghers, and the slow development into corporate life of the citizens, has never been told before. Here is offered to the readers a continuous story of the making of the city in mediæval times, and how those citizens have used their privileges. At Glastonbury indeed, so effectually have the records of its short life of two hundred years disappeared, there was little to say. Yet here is put together, into a continuous narrative, all the wondrous life of the abbey and all that is known of the life of the town. It was a great contrast, a

Wells and Glastonbury

town sending two members to Parliament, and then a parish governed by churchwardens and overseers. How well those churchwardens worked. That thrifty body of inhabitants, largely Parliamentarian, as Wells was largely Royalist, deserved to be encouraged, and they found a friend in Queen Anne and Peter King. For the last thirty years every building in both places has been well known to the writer, and he has observed and made his notes, and on many points had come independently to conclusions such as those which have already been put in print by others. Yet, of course, all that has gone before has been helpful, and one must gratefully acknowledge one's indebtedness more or less to Canon Church, Prebendary Grant, Mr. E. Buckle, and the late Mr. Bulleid. Thanks are due also to both Town Clerks. In Wells, Mr. Foster has placed the splendid collection of city muniments at the disposal of the writer, and he has gone over every page of them. So with respectful obeisance to its predecessors this little book makes its debut.

T. S. H.

Sept. 15, 1908.



THE CATHEDRAL, WEST FRONT

THE CATHEDRAL, ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH AND GLASTONBURY TOR

CHAPTER I

THE STORY OF THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER

THE City of Wells in its origin is entirely ecclesiastical. Men gathered round the church because the church had become the mother-church of the diocese, and the houses they lived in formed the nucleus of the future city. We must begin, therefore, the story of Wells with the story of that church, which was the cathedral church of the first bishops, and the story of that body of churchmen which came to be known in later times as the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Wells. The story falls naturally into three parts. First, we have to tell of the organisation of the clergy who formed originally the family of the bishop, and how it grew into that powerful corporation which at times claimed a certain independence as towards the bishop of the diocese; and

then we have to tell the story of the church itself, how it developed into what we see to-day; and, lastly, we must explain and account for that group of domestic and capitular buildings which clusters on all sides of the great church and forms that unique group of houses which claims our attention and wins our admiration.

A tradition, which in itself is extremely probable, declares that St. Aldhelm induced King Ine to found a church here in honour of St. Andrew. If this is true, then the church must have been built sometime between 695 and 709, *i.e.* two hundred years before there were any bishops of Wells. It is unlikely that a site so valuable, enriched as it was by the perennial springs which have burst forth from their hidden chambers (*cf.* p. 9) under the Mendips, would have been for long left unoccupied, and since the dedication to St. Andrew was a favourite one with St. Aldhelm, the tradition seems more than probable. Another tradition, preserved in a doubtful charter which bears the date 766, but which tends to strengthen our belief in the earlier origin of the church, records the fact that the church and clergy of Wells were enriched by the bounty of King Cynewulf. In 909, however, we come upon reliable history, for in that year the western portion of the great bishopric of the West Saxons was again subdivided, and King Eadward the Elder, son of King Alfred, placed Athelm, who had been a monk of Glastonbury, as the first bishop in Wells. This event of course increased greatly the dignity of the church, for it now became

a cathedral church, and probably caused an increase of the number of the clergy. At the time of the Domesday Survey, 1084, Giso, a Lotharingian, was Bishop of Wells. He had been chaplain to Eadward the Confessor, and it is said that on his arrival in Wells in 1061, he found four or five clergy attached to the church, and they were so poor that they could not live honestly, but had to beg their bread. This of course meant that they were obliged to depend largely on voluntary offerings, because the endowments of the church were not adequate for their maintenance. These four or five priests being attached to the bishop's church had come to be known as canons, and Bishop Giso in his benefaction gave them another ground for that title. He built them a refectory in which they could have their meals, and a dormitory where they could sleep together, and compelled them to live a community life, and imposed upon them certain rules of discipline which had been drawn up by St. Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, for his cathedral clergy, and which were known as the Rule of St. Chrodegang. The eleventh century was an age of great church reform in Western Christendom, not merely for the monasteries but also for the secular clergy, and while Bishop Giso was busy with his reforms in Wells, Bishop Leofric in the neighbouring diocese was similarly engaged at Crediton and Exeter. This change did not make the cathedral clergy monks, but compelled them to live a more regulated life, and they lost a good deal of the liberty which they had formerly

enjoyed. The reforms of Giso ended, however, with his death. Not so his benefactions. In the Domesday Survey of 1086 we find that the Church of St. Andrew had become possessed of fourteen hides of land in Wells, eight and a half hides at Lytton, and four at Wanstrow, and it is probable that the greater portion of these estates was due to the care and benefaction of the bishop. We find also two officers placed over the church and clergy of the cathedral: Benthelius the archdeacon, the bishop's officer to supervise and regulate the services and the clergy, and Isaac 'the provost,' who had the care and the management of the estates of the church.

Bishop Giso was succeeded by John, a native of Tours, a skilled physician and a man who had great influence with William Rufus. He disliked the rural abode of his predecessors, and obtained from the king and the pope the abbey and abbey church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Bath, and from him and Henry I. he procured a grant of the city of Bath. Then he transferred his episcopal seat from St. Andrew's in Wells to St. Peter and Paul at Bath, and as if to show that the church in Wells had ceased to be a cathedral church he pulled down the refectory and dormitory which Giso had built and erected close by a manor-house for himself. As for the clergy of St. Andrew they ceased also to belong to the family of the bishop, and were turned adrift to find lodgings where they could in the little town which was beginning to grow into a city. Bishop John also granted a life interest in the estates of the church of St.

Andrew to his brother Hildebert, whom he made provost, and to whom he gave some precedence and authority over the clergy, and he was charged to pay sixty shillings a year to each of the ten canons of Wells. Then when Hildebert died, his son John, the archdeacon, claimed the estates as if they had been private property charged only with a fixed payment to the canons; and John died bequeathing the estates to his brother Reginald the Precentor, and it was not till the episcopate of Bishop Robert of Lewes, 1136-1166, that the estates were finally conveyed to the church of St. Andrew. By this time Wells had begun to recover from the humiliation which Bishop John had brought upon it, and the canons were claiming for their church a recognition of its ancient rank as a cathedral church, though bishop's seat and bishop's title had been transferred to Bath. Robert of Lewes, Bishop of Bath, helped them in their effort, and got back many of the estates, and gave to the church and its clergy a definite constitution. The canons were each to have their separate estates, while as a body they were to have the management of a common fund arising out of the general endowment of the church. Bishop Robert, however, had in mind a much larger body of canons than the ten whom Bishop Giso left behind, and he constituted a new body within the chapter of canons, certain obedientaries, or canons of greater dignity, who should have special supervision over definite portions of the work and duties incumbent generally on the church. They as such were to have

additional endowments, and were to be chosen out of the general body of canons, and were to be one with the other canons except in reference to their special duties for which they were alone responsible. The draft of Bishop Robert's *Carta de Ordinatione prebendarum* exists among the chapter records; and the body of canons when completed consisted of fifty, and from among these there were chosen five dignitaries known as the Quinque Personæ of the cathedral church—the dean, the precentor, the archdeacon of Wells, the chancellor, and the treasurer. The dean was the senior canon and presided at all chapter meetings, and was the mouthpiece of the chapter. The precentor had the entire charge of the services of the church, the music, the ceremonies, and the ritual. The archdeacon was the special representative of the bishop, and linked up the later constitution of the church with those earlier days when the clergy were members of the bishop's family. Then the chancellor had the custody of the books, the muniments, and the chapter records, and a certain undefined duty to look after the education of the younger clergy. The treasurer naturally had the charge of all the plate and sacred vessels which belonged to the church. The story of the increase of endowments, how Bishop Robert apportioned the estates of the church among the prebendaries and gave other lands to St. Andrew, and obtained gifts and grants from king and noble, it is unnecessary to enter upon here. To assist the dean and the precentor two other dignities of lesser degree were created, that of the subdean and that of

THE CATHEDRAL FROM ST. ANDREW'S SPRINGS

the succentor. Moreover, in a short time the canons came to be distinguished by the title of their prebends, or estates whence they drew their revenues, and thus to-day we see the titles affixed to the various stalls of the canons indicating the places where in earlier days was the estate which produced the income for them.

Now, if the bishops had remained in Wells, or if they had been constantly there, and not called away for the work of the diocese or for the needs of the king, this large body of canons would possibly have remained dependent on him. His frequent absences

Wells and Glastonbury

and the needs of their large estates gave them, however, occasions for independent action, and from the middle of the thirteenth century we find the canons claiming the freedom to manage their estates without molestation; and during the fourteenth century, when Bishop Drokensford and Bishop Ralph de Salopia claimed the right to visit the cathedral body, the dean and chapter on their part asserted their customs and privileges as giving them within certain limits freedom from interference. This freedom, of course, had not reference to the *jus episcopale*, but only concerned the temporalities of the church, how the estates were managed, and what care was shown to preserve and keep in repair the fabric of the church and the houses on the prebendal estates. In later and post-Reformation times visitations by bishops were of rare occurrence, and the ground for them and their scope became confused, and so it is that to-day visitations do not take place, and a nominal independence between the bishop and the dean and chapter exists because care is not taken to define the scope of a modern visitation. Custom never invalidated the *jus episcopale*, and it exists undiminished to-day, though its exercise has slumbered for decades.

When Bishop Robert drew up his scheme for a large body of canons he did not contemplate that they should all reside continuously in Wells. The creation of the dignities of the Quinque Personæ indicated that; and naturally in lapse of time the ordering of the church fell the more into the hands of these dignitaries since the canons had not all of

them houses in Wells, and had to wait for the bishop or the chapter to grant them one. The accompanying drawing (p. 16) shows us one of the houses which the bishop could give to a canon to enable him to live in Wells. Only those canons who resided in Wells had any share in the common fund of the church. If a canon was absent all the year he received only the emoluments which came from his prebend. Moreover, during the second half of the twelfth century we find that an absent canon was called upon to pay a priest who should act as his substitute and who would take a share in the offices and services of the cathedral church. Thus there grew up from the time of Bishop Robert a body of men who were known as Vicars—priests who resided in the town and who were obliged to attend always in the church and say masses daily and take their part in singing the Day and Night Offices in the choir. These vicars were in dependence on their canons and in obedience to the dean and chapter, and in 1360 were gathered together by the munificence of Bishop Ralph de Salopia into a college known as the College of Vicars. Bishop Ralph and his executors gave them houses in that portion of the cathedral precincts, which came to be known as the Vicars' Close, and together with estates for their maintenance a body of statutes for their governance. This corporation passed uninjured through the sixteenth century, and in 1592 received a confirmatory charter from Queen Elizabeth, and by this they are still largely governed. The musical side of their duty took precedence of their spiritual work, and

Wells and Glastonbury

probably had begun to do that before the sixteenth century was half over, and so they escaped the general suppression; and to-day eleven of them are lay vicars taking their share in the choral part of the cathedral services, and three are priests, the natural successors of the earlier vicars, and whose duties are the same as those who in other places are called by the later title of minor canons.

There were in addition a third body of priests not attached to the individual canons but in dependence on the chapter, and whose duties were to say masses in the chantries in the church and at those altars to which were attached endowed obits. These men were gathered together by Bishop Erghum in 1388 and 1400 into the New College or the College of Mountroy, to the north of the Liberty. As, however, they were chantry priests and took no official part in the other services of the church, they passed away under the Act of 1547. To-day no trace of them remains, and the building where they lived was demolished nearly a century ago.

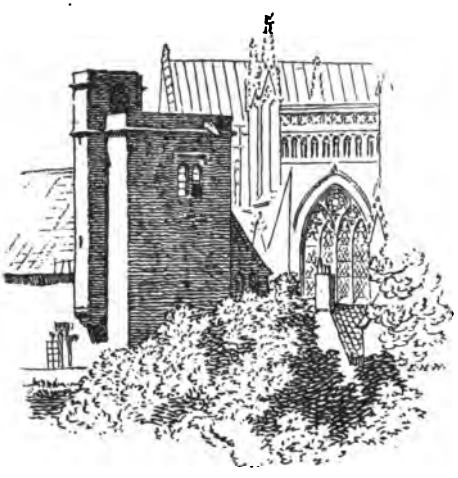
We must now follow the fortunes of that greater body of clergy known as the Dean and Chapter of Wells, and trace the changes that have occurred since it was founded by Bishop Robert and completed by Bishop Reginald, his successor. During the sixteenth century, since it was a corporation of secular canons, it escaped the general confiscation, and the constitution of to-day is largely that of the days of Bishop Ralph de Salopia and Bishop Beckington.

In 1537 Thomas Cromwell, the Earl of Essex, was

appointed dean under the influence of Henry VIII., rather than through the free election of the canons; and when he was attainted for treason in 1540, a special clause in the bill of attainder safeguarded the interests of the bishop and of the dean and chapter. The deanery house and estate still remained to the chapter. He was succeeded by William Fitzwilliam, whose appointment also was due to the influence of the Crown, and in 1547 the Crown induced the new dean to surrender his office and its emoluments to the king, and the deanery was given to the Duke of Somerset. There had, however, been going on a serious and disgraceful bartering of the episcopal estates between Bishop Barlow and the Duke of Somerset, and the losses to the bishop were partly made up by grants from the church. The palace was given over to the duke, and the deanery was granted to the bishop, the provostship and the succentorship were suppressed, and the dean was endowed out of these offices, and the house of the chancellor was made over to the new dean. This transaction was made possible since Edward VI. declared that the deanery had been dissolved; and he created it anew in 1547 under a private Act of Parliament, and John Goodman was appointed by letters-patent. Two years afterwards the chapter with their president, whom the canons alone recognised, petitioned Edward VI. against this Act, and protested that it had been obtained without their knowledge, and that Goodman had procured the appointment in an uncanonical manner. Goodman, however, remained Dean of Wells,

and when he vacated the office it was by his own act, which seems to have been unintentional. The prebend of N. Curry was formerly attached to the office of dean, and in the then confused state of the chapter endowments Goodman appears to have accepted the prebend of Wiveliscombe in augmentation of his stipend. This stall, however, was in no way connected with the deanery, and in accepting it he had *ipso facto* vacated the stall of N. Curry and the deanery, since he could not possess at one and the same time two ordinary stalls. His enemies certainly so explained his action, and in 1551 Edward VI. by letters-patent appointed Dr. William Turner to the deanery, and the chapter gave him for his residence the chancellor's house which Goodman had used. Then in 1553 Goodman, who was certainly not a reformer, and whose troubles had probably been created by his love of the unreformed religion, sued Turner and claimed the deanery, and in 1553 got back the office of dean and the dean's house, since Queen Mary had given back to Bishop Bourne the palace and Dr. Turner had gone into exile, and Goodman kept it until 1560 when Archbishop Parker deprived him of it and reinstated Turner. The controversy was finally settled by Goodman's death in 1562. There was, however, a more serious question created by these changes which had still to be settled, and which became critical about thirty years after. The ancient dean and chapter formed a corporate body, but what was the relation of the new Act-of-Parliament dean to the old chapter? In 1590 the old College of Vicars had

begun to claim independence, asserting that they owed no allegiance to this new body, *i.e.* the dean and the chapter, two distinct authorities, and they were intent on gaining for themselves a new charter. Dean Herbert, therefore, called the chapter together and claimed for himself and the canons the rights of the old dean and chapter, and he and the canons petitioned for a charter which should settle the controversy and make the dean, such as he now was, the nominee of the Crown, together with the canons the legal representatives of the old corporate body. The charter of Elizabeth was granted November 25, 1592, and asserts their identity, and made considerable changes in the practical organisation of the chapter. The old customs were not abolished, but there was superimposed a new body for the management of the cathedral and its corporate estates. This body was to consist of the dean and eight canons, and the management of the church was no longer to be left to the general body of such canons as were in residence but was to be vested in this new body, who should henceforth be known as the Dean and Chapter. Naturally the dignitaries were mostly residentiaries, *i.e.* members of this new body, because some of them still had houses to live in here; but they were not necessarily so, and a controversy long existed between the dean and chapter and the bishop on this question. The dean and chapter possessed seven canonical houses in addition to the houses of the Quinque Personæ, except the house of the archdeacon which was alienated in Henry VIII.'s reign, and from the general

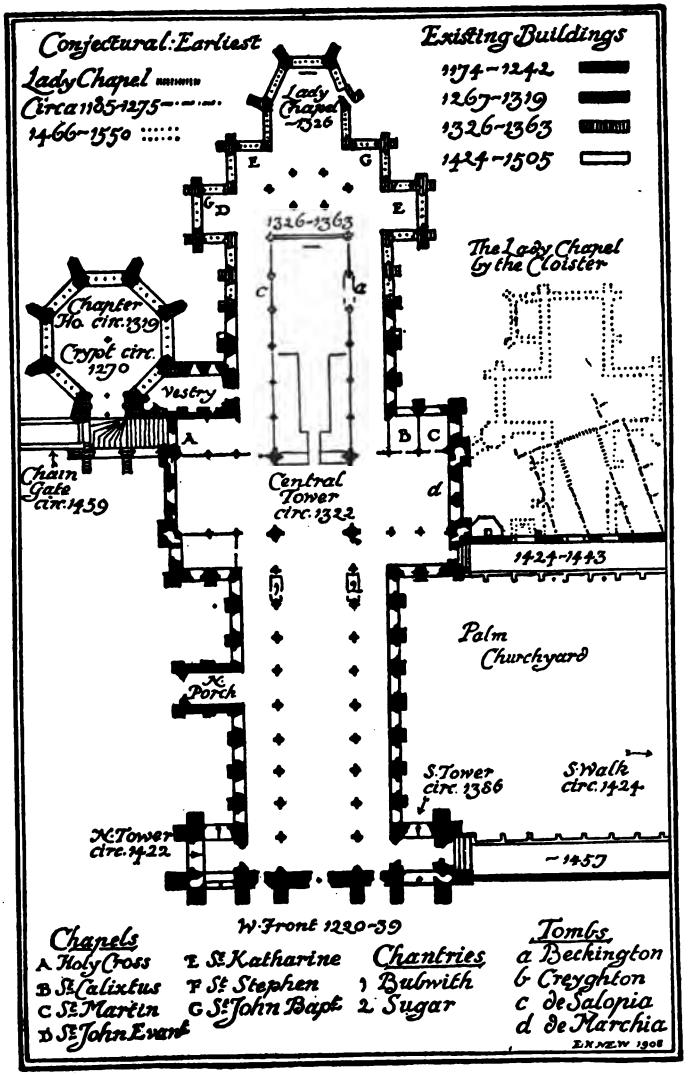


TOWER HOUSE

body of prebendaries appointed by the bishop and during a vacancy by the Crown the dean and chapter was obliged to elect into the new corporation of nine. This corporation continued as the dean and chapter of eight canons residentiary all through the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. Then in the second half of this latter century the number of residentiaries was reduced to six, and at this number they continued until after the Royal Commission of 1855, when under the then Cathedral Act they were fixed finally at four, and their choice from among the prebendaries or members of the Greater Chapter was taken from the dean and chapter and given to the bishop. This came into effect in 1879,

on the death of Canon Beadon, and now the bishop of the diocese collates not only to the prebendal stalls, in the first instance, and to the stalls of the dignitaries other than the dean, but he has also the right to call a non-resident prebendary into residence and into the inner corporation of the dean and chapter whenever a vacancy among the four should arise.

The Story of the Cathedral Chapter



PLAN OF CATHEDRAL

CHAPTER II

THE MAKING OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH

THE church which King Ine and St. Aldhelm built in Wells and dedicated to St. Andrew was probably partly of wood and seems to have stood a little to the south of the present church. When in 909 this church was raised to cathedral rank, we may suppose that a larger church was built and that it probably was of stone. We know nothing, however, of any church building previous to the Norman Conquest, and the account of Giso's buildings makes no mention of the building of a church. The story of our church building begins therefore with Bishop Robert of Lewes, who was Bishop of Bath (1136-1166). He obtained from Pope Alexander III. (1159-1181) a charter which confirmed to Wells again its cathedral rank and gave it equal rights with Bath in the election of the bishop. The bishop was to be chosen by representatives of both churches and was to be enthroned in both places—at Bath first, and then at Wells. Bishop Robert had meanwhile been busy on a new church in Wells, and this was dedicated in April

1148. What exactly was done we cannot say. 'He repaired a ruinous church,' records one chronicler. Godwin says he pulled down a great part of the existing church and repaired it. His work was no mere restoration. It was such a rebuilding as called for a re-dedication and a fresh consecration. The old Romanesque church in which Bishops Duduc and Giso of the eleventh century had been buried, must have given place to a new church built in the new style of the Norman builders. There exists, however, nothing to tell us of this church, its size or its character, except perhaps the ancient font in the south transept, and some stones built up in the wall of the later church. A Lady Chapel to the side of the older church, to which Bishop Giso had given lands at North Wootton, was probably allowed to remain for a time. It was to the south of the stream that runs under the Palm churchyard. In 1166 Bishop Robert died, and after an interval of eight years, during which the see was vacant, Reginald Fitzjocelyn came as bishop in 1174, and to him we owe the earlier portions of the present building. All through his episcopate he was not merely collecting funds, but we have several references to the new work on which he was engaged — *ad constructionem novi operis.* Unfortunately there are no Fabric Rolls of this early period, and we are left to conjecture as to what this great building was which certainly had been begun before 1180, and was being carried on up to the end of his episcopate. It would seem as if Bishop Robert's church had not been completed, for we cannot under-

stand Reginald's action in reference to a new church only just built. On examination it is evident that Bishop Reginald pulled down his predecessor's Norman church and began an entire reconstruction in a later style of architecture, a style distinctly Gothic, though with many features due to the work of men who had been trained to their craft, as builders, in the old Romanesque style of the Norman architects. An examination of the capitals and the masonry shows us that Bishop Reginald's work is to be found in so much of the present church as is comprised within three western bays of the choir, the north and south transept, the north porch, and so much of the nave as is to the east of it, and perhaps two or more of the bays of the nave to the west.

Bishop Reginald's successor, Bishop Savaric, does not appear to have carried on this work. He had neither the leisure nor the means for it. Within a year after his consecration he obtained by intrigue the abbotship of Glastonbury, and the right to attach that to the title of the see. He was the first Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury. This action involved him in a bitter struggle with the monks of this great monastery, and peace was not made until Savaric's successor, Bishop Jocelyn, in 1219, after he had received from the monastery several manors by way of compensation, agreed to surrender the office and the title, and Jocelyn's successor, Bishop Roger, in 1242 was the first to be known as the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

On Savaric's death in 1205 Jocelyn Fitztrotman

Wells and Glastonbury

was chosen by the canons of Wells and accepted somewhat unwillingly by the monks of Bath as the new bishop, and he was consecrated at Reading in 1206. He and his brother Hugh, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, were natives of Wells, and had been canons of the cathedral church under Bishop Reginald. To both the city and the church they proved themselves munificent benefactors. Unfortunately, the political troubles of the times prevented Jocelyn from carrying on at once the work which Reginald had left unfinished. In 1208 he, with the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, who had published the Interdict, had to flee the country in order to escape the insensate rage of King John, and he did not return till 1213. The church therefore for thirty years remained unfinished, with no western façade and with a truncated nave, awaiting the advent of more prosperous days. At first Jocelyn had to negotiate peace with Glastonbury, and it was not till 1220 that the opportunity came and he began his plans for the completion of the church he dearly loved. His additions therefore belong to the period 1220-1242, and on St. Romanus' day, October 23, 1239, he consecrated afresh the church which he had been enlarging and completing. The most important of his additions was, of course, the great western façade, with its splendid rows of statues designed and executed by English masons and sculptors in local stone. It is not exactly a west end, because the two towers stand beyond the north and south aisle of the nave and the central gable is several feet higher

than the ridge of the nave roof. This, however, shows clearly that it was built when there was no nave immediately behind. It was a magnificent ending, but it was to a certain extent an independent piece of work. He connected this with Reginald's work by two or three bays which he seems to have built in the style of his predecessor, and the two heads on the corbels in the spandrils of the southern wall of the nave, a crowned king and a mitred bishop, are probably those of himself and King Henry III., as at Rouen the contemporary and similar corbels are carved with the heads of King John, Duke of Normandy, and Walter de Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen. Then to the south he added what was certainly only a luxury and an ornament for a church of secular canons, a cloistered walk on the east, south and western sides of the burial place, of which, however, only the outer walls and the doors into the church in the south transept and the south-west tower remain, the south-eastern doorway leading from the cloisters to his palace, and the western arch which in the western cloister allowed a passage from the town into the church and cemetery of the canons.

In all this work it is certain that he was aided not only by the canons of his church but also by the faithful of the diocese, and a stone in the buttress, north of the northern side entrance at the west end, has an inscription which suggests the name of one of the benefactors of the church—*pur lalme Johan de Pyttene prie et trese jurs de.* The abrupt termination is difficult to account for. Perhaps the jealousy

of other benefactors put an end to a scheme which would certainly have spoilt the façade. Whether the work of Jocelyn was actually finished when the church was consecrated is uncertain. Probably it was not. Work was going on during the second half of the thirteenth century, not merely in finishing that which was incomplete but also in repairing that which had begun to decay.

In 1248 an earthquake damaged the church in several parts and had thrown down some part of the tower which Reginald or Jocelyn had built. In 1263 great preparations were made to repair this damage. During the episcopate of William Bytton II. (1266-1274) it is probable that the undercroft, now known as the crypt, was built as a treasury and a sacristy. In 1286, so anxious was the chapter to carry on the work of repair that it agreed to give for five years a tenth of the income of all the canons to form an additional fabric fund, and during the episcopate of Bishop Robert Burnell (1275-1292) the stairs were built which lead from the north transept aisle up to the then future chapter-house. A little later, during William de Marchia's episcopate, 1293-1302, the vestibule and outer walls of the chapter-house were completed, and the whole chapter-house, with its beautiful central shaft, its vaulted roof and its outer roof and parapet, were finished before the death of Dean Godley in 1319.

The central tower seems also to have been rising in the meantime. Internally the work of Reginald was untouched, and therefore the appearance of the in-

terior of the church was only affected by the opening out of the increasing height of the lantern. All was completed and roofed in about the year 1322, and before the death of Bishop Drokensford. This work, however, had been entered on without sufficient deliberation. The design of Reginald or of Jocelyn was probably in favour of a western façade with towers and spires. The cross formed by the nave, choir, and transepts would probably have been marked externally by a very low tower hardly rising above the ridge of the roofs, and would not interfere with the effect of the loftier towers and gable at the west. The piers that supported the central tower were equal to its weight and had been built accordingly. Now, however, the piers began

The Nave & Bubwith Chantry

to show their inability to support the tower that had been built externally upon them, so in 1338 the canons were hastily summoned to consult together concerning the dangerous state of the central tower. Its fall was imminent. The piers were showing signs of speedy collapse. It was then, and on account of this danger, that the three arches, known as St. Andrew's arches, were inserted inside and under the arches west, north, and south of this central tower, and in addition the nearest triforium openings and clerestory windows were filled in and buttresses were built up under the aisle roofs to prop up and give stability to the four weakened and yielding piers. These arches attract the notice of all visitors, and take certainly from the general impression that the interior of the church would have made, but they effectually prevented any further settlement of the tower.

We must now turn to the eastern part of the church which had been finished by Bishop Reginald and left unaltered by Bishop Jocelyn. This church of Bishop Reginald ended eastward in a square sanctuary which began immediately east of the three western choir bays and ended somewhat west of the present high altar.

During the time of Dean Godley and Bishop Drokensford work was going on to the east of the church, and at first unconnected with it. The old Lady Chapel, of which the western door was in the eastern walk of the cloister, could hardly have appeared but small and mean compared to the increasing glory of the later

church. A new Lady Chapel was therefore begun to the east of the great church and at some distance from it, and was completed before 1326. At first it must have been detached, and from the church entrance could only have been by some temporary corridor or covered passage. Its western end must also have been left incomplete, clear evidence that already the idea was being entertained of prolonging eastward the church of Bishop Reginald. During the episcopate of Bishop Ralph de Salopia (1329-1363) this work was taken up vigorously, and the bishop called upon the diocese to assist the dean and chapter in the work on which they were engaged. Under his instigation and by his assistance the three eastern bays of the choir were erected, the earlier eastern walls having been demolished. The ambulatory behind the high altar was added, and the chapels which form the two eastern transepts and the chapels which form the eastern ends of the choir aisles were completed, and the Lady Chapel made an integral part of the great church.

Bishop Ralph and the chapter seem also to have rearranged the choir, bringing it now eastward of the central tower, filling up the triforium openings, and inserting then such panel-work as would make the older western part match the better with the new. It was at this time that the great eastern window over the high altar was filled with the beautiful stain-glass which still forms one of the glories of the Cathedral, and the clerestory windows of the choir were also filled with that fine fourteenth-

century glass, of which only four windows remain to tell of what has been lost. Early in the nineteenth century certain remnants of sculptured stone which had been stored in the crypt were built up against the eastern wall of the Lady Chapel. They formed portions of a reredos, and the space for the altar is so large and so lofty that we can have here nothing else than the remains of that reredos which Bishop Ralph had erected behind the new high altar. It clearly does not belong to the Lady Chapel.

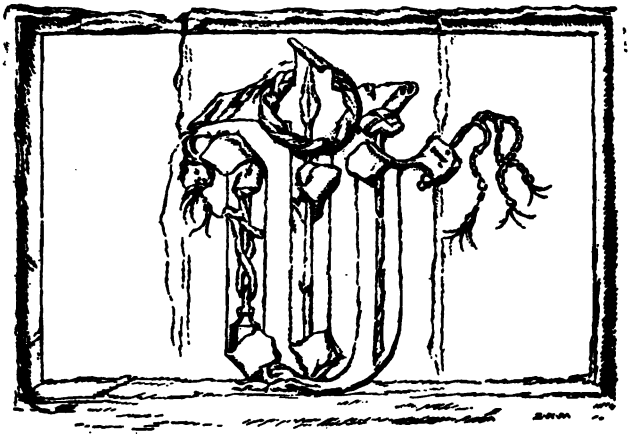
The towers at the west end of the church have always been a puzzle to visitors because of their truncated appearance. It is probable that they were intended to form the chief features externally of Reginald's and Jocelyn's church. But it is impossible now to say so because of subsequent changes of plan. When this central tower was finished in 1322 the western towers only reached the horizontal string course below the Angels' Tier. They were evidently incomplete, and we know nothing of their state of incompleteness. Any further alteration would now have to be subordinate to the altitude of the central tower. The upper stage of the south-west tower was built by the executors of Bishop Harewell soon after his death in 1386, and the north-west tower was completed and made to match that on the south side by the executors of Bishop Bubwith, who left in 1422 a legacy for the benefit of the church. It is clear therefore from the three dates at which the three towers were erected that they do not form part of any one design, nor are they incomplete. There is no indica-

tion that the western towers were ever intended to support wooden spires covered with lead or shingles. Their dwarf appearance is clearly intentional, since the later central tower had altered the original plan and would not allow of anything much higher.

We must now turn to the south side of the church and examine the cloisters. It will be at once evident to any careful observer when he looks at the line of the eastern walk of the cloisters and notices the centres of the doors in the south transept of the church and at the southern end of the cloister, that there has been considerable change here. It was on this south side that Bishop Giso, some years before the Norman Conquest, built his conventual dormitory and refectory for the use of his canons whom he placed under the Order of St. Chrodegang. His successor, John of Tours, as we have already stated, transferred his bishopric to Bath, pulled down all that his predecessor had erected and built for himself a manor-house, and probably on the same site. That site is still conjectural.

Now Bishop Giso is said to have built a chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in 1248, when the chapter laid out the burial-grounds round the church, it was ordered that defunct canons' vicars should be buried in the ground to the east behind the chapel of the Blessed Mary; and in a charter of 1250 this chapel is more fully described as the chapel of the Blessed Mary, which is set in the southern part of the great church near the cloisters. This chapel was certainly standing when Bishop

Robert was building his Norman church, for he confirms a grant made for it, and it must have been standing when Bishop Reginald was building the present church, for during the episcopate of Bishop Savaric in 1196 a grant is registered for the repair of this chapel. In 1894 excavations were made in this eastern churchyard, which in earlier documents is called the Camery, and there were discovered portions of the foundations of two chapels. The orientation of the earlier one was some ten degrees nearer to the north than that of the present church, and the south wall of it ran parallel with an ancient watercourse which flowed from the smaller of the two St Andrew's pools in a south-westerly direction. This chapel had at a later time been enlarged by two aisles north and south, and the southern aisle was built over this watercourse. Now if the visitor examines the eastern side of the wall of the eastern cloister he will see there the traces of two doorways south of the present opening. The northern was the entrance into this earlier chapel, and the door further south was a small passage door leading from the cloister to the Camery churchyard south and east of the chapel. More conspicuous, however, as one examines this wall, is some panel-work on either side of the existing door. This is the interior western wall of the later Lady Chapel built by Bishop Stillington (1466-1491), and owing to his imprisonment probably completed by his successor, Bishop King (1495-1503). This later chapel was on the site of the earlier Capella B. V. Maria juxta claustrum, which we have already de-



SACRED MONOGRAM AND EMBLEMS OF THE PASSION IN THE CLOISTERS

scribed. It was not a restoration but a complete rebuilding, and oriented to correspond with the line of the great church and not in accordance with the line of its predecessor. The entrance to this chapel is the earlier entrance to the earlier chapel, ornamented on its eastern side with the panel-work which adorned the chapel. On the south of this in the cloisters one will observe a beautiful panel containing an I.H.S., with representations of our Saviour's Passion, the spear, the sponge, the crown of thorns, the pierced heart, the pillar and cord entwined, and the scourge of thongs. This blocks up a later door into the south aisle of the earlier chapel, and belongs probably to the time of Bishop Beckington. One will notice also on the western or churchyard side of the cloister and on either

side of this entrance to the chapel two covered shelters or penthouses, entrance to which can be discerned in the lower wall below the tracery of the cloister. They were probably protections for stalls where the devout could purchase candles to burn before the statue of Our Lady. Also if we examine again the eastern side of this cloister wall there is exposed to view signs of window tracery and evidences of a penthouse which was built against it. This window opened into the cloister and was also a shop or stall for the sale of candles and objects of devotion, such as the age was wont to buy. But neither sale office nor chapel remained for long. The chapel was so completely part of mediæval Christianity that its future was made certain as the Reformation progressed. In 1547 all such colleges and chantry chapels were closed, and their revenues, if any, were assigned to the Crown. So worship ceased that year in the gorgeous chapel which Bishop Stillington's ambition had created, and in 1552 Bishop Barlow and the dean and chapter gave the building to Sir John Gates, who already had received from the Duke of Somerset a grant of the Bishop's Palace, on condition that he took it down and removed the material and cleared the site within four and a quarter years. He, however, was implicated in the treason of the Duke of Somerset, and was with his patron executed before he could complete his part of the agreement. Recent excavations have revealed carved stones from the vaulted roof, and the foundations have disclosed its size. The stones have been built up against the cloister wall, records of

events long since passed, and testimonies of a magnificence which is now no more.

It is evident also to those who examine this wall of the eastern cloister walk that it is older than any other part of the cloisters. It presents several perplexing problems, and it probably belongs to the time of Bishop Reginald, and is therefore anterior to Bishop Jocelyn's cloisters and contemporary with a doorway in the south transept earlier than, but on the site of, Bishop Jocelyn's door. It connected the old Lady Chapel with the new and larger church which Bishop Reginald was engaged in building, and it is probable that the services of the church were performed in the old Lady Chapel while the new cathedral church was rising. The present door, however, in the south transept is of the time of Bishop Jocelyn, and with its fellow door from the south-west tower leading into the western walk of the cloisters is remarkable for its height. Jocelyn's cloisters were narrow and had no buildings over them, and were covered over with a wooden roof. The southern and western boundary walls are certainly his. The western wall is carefully bonded into the wall of his western façade of the church. The door which Jocelyn made at the south end of the eastern walk leads us past the pool, made by the waters of St. Andrew, towards the new palace which he was building, considerably to the south-east, and it presents a problem which cannot easily be explained, for it is evident that originally the door was hung on the south side of the wall—*i.e.* to keep back those who might be coming out from

the church, as to-day it is north of the wall to shut out those who would come into the church. There is another doorway in the eastern boundary wall which is now hidden on the cloister side by monuments. It can only be seen from the Camery masons' yard. Probably it was a little later than Jocelyn's time and made for the purpose of processions, the cathedral clergy thus confining themselves to their own territory and not venturing to cross over any portion of the lands of the bishop.

We must now consider the cloisters as distinct from their boundary walls and the doors which lead into them. The oldest is that of the eastern walk and dates from the year 1424, when the executors of Bishop Bubwith began to carry out his bequest and build a library above the cloister. The plan involved the destruction of what Jocelyn had built, and it is clear that the greater width necessary for the library above was the cause of this demolition, and explains also the eccentricity of the centre line of the cloister and that of the two doors north and south. The present cloister there was begun during the episcopate of Bishop Stafford (1425-1443), and began from the corner nearest the south transept, and the chamber for the library was erected over it. Whether it was intended to prolong the cloister and chamber above as far as Jocelyn's south door cannot be proved, but that funds did not allow of it is evident, because the row of double windows with a trefoil head which is seen on the eastern side ends abruptly and indicates the extent of the original Bubwith bequest. Then

SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF THE CLOISTERS

the south walk was measured out and the vaulting arranged to suit that walk, and with the rest of the vaulting of the eastern walk was completed from the south northwards. The western walk was also completed very soon after, and in 1457, during the episcopate of Bishop Beckington, the whole was finished and the cloisters paved. It is probable that the extension of the library chamber as far as the south cloister was completed soon after, and if not by Bishop Stillington then most likely by Bishop King. The Bubwith device, a triple wreath of holly leaves, was doubtless then transferred from the gable end of Bubwith's chamber to that of its final extension. The square windows of the south-eastern part of the

library are probably insertions of the Restoration period, when Dr. Busby and Dr. Creyghton on their return to Wells gave so generously for the repair and the equipment of the despoiled library.

The book-shelves of the present library belong to the efforts of the Restoration canons and the generosity of the Restoration bishops. Seats for the readers and desks on which to lay the books were inserted, and chains were attached to all the books to protect them from further thefts. During the Commonwealth the greater part of the library disappeared, and it was owing to the efforts of Mr. Chancellor Holt that some two hundred books were recovered for the cathedral from the shelves in the Treasury of St. Cuthbert's Church where they had been placed. In 1712 the store of books was increased by a moiety of the library of Bishop Ken, and in 1725 Bishop Hooper bequeathed his library to the chapter, and to house it properly three more bays northward were taken in and shelves put up, and the screen advanced towards the present entrance door. The room at the south end was arranged for the use of the librarian, and belongs to the restoration made by Dean Creyghton and Canons Busby and Holt. It contains in locked cases the Chapter Act-books and ancient registers, and some seven hundred deeds and charters, all carefully arranged in labelled boxes and ready for expeditious inspection.

The south and western walks of the cloisters, as we have said before, have a simpler history, and over the west walk Bishop Beckington (1443-1465) erected

a chorister school, a music and singing room, and an audit room for the gathering of the chapter tenants. He erected also to the west of this a house for the organist and master of the choristers, and blocking up the processional door of Bishop Jocelyn on the western boundary wall, he made a new door and porch and gallery over it somewhat nearer to the cathedral and on a line with the entrance to the organist's house. The south gable of this house can be seen over the wall of the small garden of the present Girls' High School. The roof of the house fell in about 1870, and most of its walls were then removed to allow of more space for the garden.

We cannot leave the cathedral church without some notice of its celebrated clock and of some of its monuments. Beautiful as a church may be, it gains immensely in its humanity by these tokens of bygone ages and monuments of past generations. Visitors, as a rule, are attracted by the curious and ancient clock in the north transept. It is said to have been made by Peter Lightfoot, a monk of Glastonbury, in the early decades of the fourteenth century. It consists of a clock with a dial to show the phases of the moon and also certain of the planets, and above there is a representation of a mediæval castle flanked by bastions with gateways. From these emerge at the striking of the hours, in opposite directions, two sets of knights on horseback tilting at one another as they move round on an internal pivot. Further to the north, from one of the openings of the triforium, there is a seated figure painted to represent a man of

the seventeenth century. In front of him hangs a bell which he strikes at the quarters with two hammers, one in either hand, and beneath him are also two bells which he hits with either heel. Beyond the transept, on the exterior of the north transept wall, is another clock face, and above, under a stone canopy, are two knights in armour of the time of Henry VII. who strike a bell which hangs between them with their battle pole-axes. The knights were taken down for repair last year, and it was found that they were between four and five feet in length, and were each carved out of a solid block of oak. On page 115 we have given an illustration of the external clock face with its knights above.

Whether or not the clock was made at Glastonbury, tradition is certainly wrong as to its having formed part of the spoils of the abbey. It seems to have been in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Wells in the fourteenth century, and in the Chapter Account Rolls there is entered, in the early decades of the fifteenth century, items of expenditure for its repair and redecoration. It was in its place in the cathedral church a hundred and fifty years before the dissolution of the monastery.

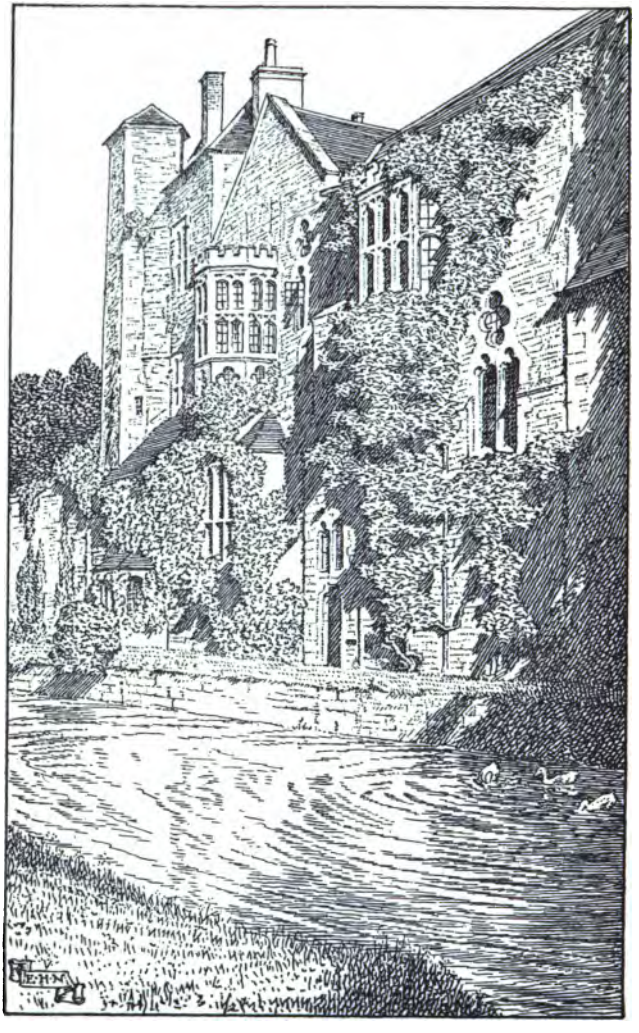
[1] On pages 86 and 93 we have given illustrations of two of the monumental tombs in the cathedral church. Of these Bishop Beckington's tomb was yearly visited by the Mayor and Commonalty of Wells on the anniversary of his death, in evidence of their gratitude for the conduit and supply of water he had granted to

them, and also for the beautiful row of shops he had built in the market-place against the external wall of the cathedral precincts. The tomb has been removed from under the choir arch southward into the south choir aisle, and the canopied altar which, until 1830, stood out at right angles into the choir, is now placed on the eastern wall of the chapel of St. Calixtus. Similar treatment, but at some earlier date, has been meted out to the altar canopy of the tomb of Bishop W. de Marchia in the south transept. The altar was at right angles to the tomb and to the east, and now it has been built up against the window between the tomb of the bishop and the entrance to the tower staircase. One of the most remarkable tombs, however, is that of Dean Husee or Canon Boleyn in the chapel of St. Calixtus. It has panels of carved alabaster, and the representations of the Annunciation and of the Trinity are of extreme beauty and value. The figures of the canons robed, which are in the intervening panels, are also instructive, showing the almuce fastened in front with a tassel and cords and the size and simplicity of the choir copes.

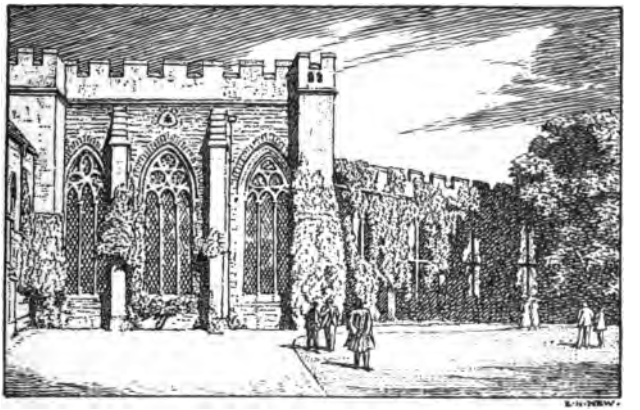
As the visitor passes through the south choir aisle, he will perceive the interesting thirteenth-century incised slab over Bishop W. Bytton's grave, and in the north-east transept lies Bishop Creyghton, canon, exile, restoration dean, and ultimately bishop, who died in 1673. It is remarkable, because he is robed as a mediæval bishop and wears a mitre. We have given an illustration of this monument on page 93.

In the third decade of the nineteenth century there

was a great removal of monuments from the church into the cloisters, and the visitor will find there several monuments of real beauty which should never have been taken away. This action of the dean and chapter of the time accounts for the comparative bareness of the walls of the church. The visitor, however, must not fail to notice the tomb of the great builder of the choir, Bishop R. de Salopia. It is in the north choir aisle exactly opposite that of Bishop Beckington. On the eastern piers of the ninth bay of the Nave were two altars dedicated on the north side to our Saviour, and on the south to St. Edmund of Canterbury. These have been replaced by the two beautiful chantry chapels of Bishop Bubwith, 1424, on the north, and Hugh Sugar, Treasurer of Wells (1460-1489), on the south. The western side of this latter chapel has been opened out to provide an entrance to the Nave pulpit erected by Bishop Knight in 1547. None of the other monuments of antiquity are especially interesting or of great artistic value.



THE BISHOP'S PALACE, NORTH SIDE



THE CHAPEL AND GREAT HALL, BISHOP'S PALACE

CHAPTER III

THE PALACE—THE HOUSES OF THE CHAPTER AND OF THE VICARS AND CHANTRY CHAPLAINS

WHATEVER may have been the nature of the clergy settlement at Wells in the earliest days of the church's history, when Athelm came as its first bishop it was certainly a *monasterium*—*i.e.* a permanent settlement of clergy who lived together in a house not far from the church. The *monasterium* became the bishop's household or family, living in his house and near his church, the cathedral and minster church. This household probably consisted of older clergy whom the bishop had chosen to assist him in the work of his diocese, and of

younger men who were preparing for the ministry and were perhaps in inferior orders already. There would certainly be an archdeacon to direct the clergy under the bishop, and probably a chancellor who had laid on him the care and the responsibility of the education and training of the younger priests. Bishop Giso's house was, as we have already seen, conventual. It was more than a clergy house. It was a house where all alike observed in their daily life the rules of discipline and devotion drawn up by St. Chrodegang. When Bishop John of Tours succeeded in his desire to transfer his residence and his episcopal seat to Bath, he pulled down the house where Bishop Giso and his clergy had lived, and on or near the site began to erect a house for himself. It was no longer to be his chief residence, and therefore, probably, it was not large—enough for himself and the few clergy he might choose to travel with him through the diocese. It is not known, however, where this house was. There were two streams running from the springs to the east of the great church. The smaller stream ran through the common churchyard, just south of the first Lady Chapel, and was for the use of the cathedral clergy. The larger one ran further to the south into a pool south of the cloisters, and then on towards the bishop's mill at the back of the High Street. Bishop John of Tours' house may have been between these two streams, or it may have been on the site of the present palace, and some distance from both streams. Bishop Jocelyn, however, was a Wells man, and decided

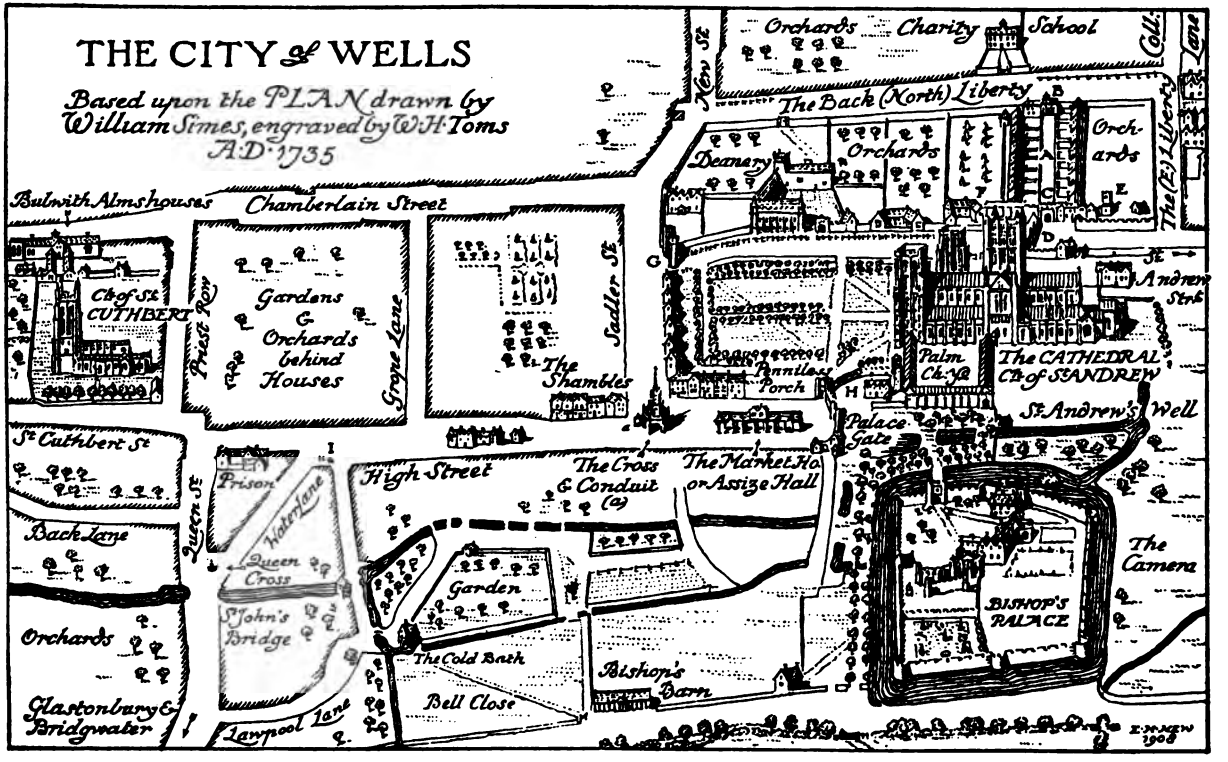
to live in Wells. He had been a secular priest and canon of the church, and having made his peace with the monks of Glastonbury, he prepared to make his house at Wells more worthy of the chief residence of the bishop. The Canon of Wells, who wrote in the sixteenth century and with the ideas prevalent in his time, calls it a palace, but to Jocelyn it was only his manor-house at Wells. Jocelyn built then the central portion of the present palace, the chambers on the ground floor called the crypt, the entrance-hall and the little chamber to the north-east, the gallery above, a great hall then open to the roof and now forming the bishop's drawing-room and library, the chamber to the north and the small chamber to the east, which was really the bishop's own private oratory. He also built two staircases in the turrets to the south-west and north-west of the entrance-hall. His doorway was, however, one bay north of the present entrance door and opened directly facing the undercroft or crypt. This chamber was doubtless for storage and for the use of his servants. There was probably also a chapel for the use of his household on the site of the present chapel, but on a level with the gallery and opening into it, with an undercroft beneath. The great guest-hall was erected by Bishop Burnell (1275-1292). It consisted of five bays divided into nave and aisles, and was finished at the west end by a screen and gallery or solar, which reached right across the hall, and probably there were open windows from it looking into the hall. It was reached by a staircase leading up from the west of the porch,

The Palace

which was on the north-west side of the hall and just east of the screen. The kitchen and offices were all to the west of the hall, and were approached by a passage through the doorway in the middle of the west wall.

The chapel was also built by Bishop Burnell, and was evidently made to fit in with Jocelyn's buildings to the north-east and the great hall to the south-west. This is the more probable since the turret to the south-west of the chapel is really the north-east turret of the hall, and had a window in it which would have been useless had the chapel been already built. The chapel consists of three bays, of which that to the west forms a kind of antechapel. Its height is probably due to the use of a portion of Jocelyn's walls and the destruction of the undercroft. The little doorway which gives an entrance on the north-east from the bottom of Jocelyn's turret is modern. The principal entrance of Bishop Burnell's time is that to the west. Jocelyn's staircase turret must have been raised in order that it might lead on to the roof of Burnell's chapel, and the turret to the north-west with its doorway below opening into the antechapel was built for a bell turret. There is also on the south side of the antechapel another door which may have led into a small priest's chamber in the angle made by the chapel and the end of the hall. The doorway from the hall turret opening on to the roof of this chamber is seen a few feet up on the turret.

We now come to the great change made in the


THE CITY of WELLS
Based upon the PLAN drawn by William Simes, engraved by W.H. Toms A.D. 1735
Orchards
Charity
School
Coll.
Lane
New St
The Back (North) Liberty
Deanery
Orchards
Orchards
The (E.) Liberty
Bulwith Almshouses
Chamberlain Street
Ch of St CUTHBERT
Priest Row
Gardens & Orchards behind Houses
Grove Lane
Sadler St
The Shambles
Pennilass Porch
Palm Ch. Yd
The CATHEDRAL Ch of St ANDREW
St Andrew Strt
St Andrew's Well
Palace Gate
St Cuthbert St
Prison
Queen St
Water Lane
High Street
The Cross & Conduit (a)
The Market Ho or Assize Hall
Back Lane
Queen Cross
St John's Bridge
Garden
The Camera
BISHOP'S PALACE
Orchards
The Cold Bath
Bishop's Barn
Bell Close
Glastonbury & Bridgwater
Lawpool Lane
E.H.NEW 1908

general appearance and grandeur of the palace by Bishop R. de Salopia (1329-1363). The townspeople of Wells, like the burgesses of many other towns of England, were endeavouring during this century to gain entire independence of the bishop, their mesne lord. Natural as we now think their aspirations to have been, yet such an end gained by them would have been a great loss to the bishop. The dues they paid him in recognition of their dependence were at least an honourable portion of his income. The story we will relate in the narrative of the growth of the town. The incident, however, caused so great a breach of the friendly relationship which had existed between them, that Bishop Ralph obtained a licence to protect himself with a wall and other means of defence to his house. The licence to crenellate is dated March 29, 1340, and allows him to build walls round his house and that of the canons, and to erect towers and divert streets, and to place posterns and gates which could be closed at night. So Bishop Ralph built the walls and gate, tower and bastions, and surrounded them with a ditch which he filled with water by turning the larger stream from the springs, so that it filled the moat and ran on afterwards to the bishop's mills. He also with the dean and chapter built a wall round the western green of the cathedral church, carrying it on as far west as Sadler Street and along the Liberty as far as the Vicars' Close. The bastion on the north-west side of the palace walls was fitted up as a prison for criminous clerks, and had a guardhouse over it.

GATEHOUSE OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE

We come next to the additions made by Bishop Beckington (1443-1465). He appears to have built a second hall to the north-west of Jocelyn's buildings, with a kitchen, a parlour, a gate, tower, and cloister, with a curtain wall across from the north to the corner of the chapel and leading to it. Chambers over this hall were added by Bishop Clerk (1523-1541), and the bay window on the ground floor and the two oriel windows on the north side looking over the moat are also due to him.

Wells and Glastonbury

In 1550, Bishop Barlow (1548-1554) was induced or rather compelled to alienate the palace and give it to the Crown, and by the Crown it was given to the Duke of Somerset. It reverted two years afterwards again to the Crown on the duke's attainder for treason, and was then regranted to the bishop in exchange for other manors, and permission was given him to pull down the great hall, 'as he had many fit places within the precincts of the house in Wells to make an hall of, and for his hospitality.' The hall was therefore sold or granted to Sir John Gates, who took off the roof and windows and left the walls standing, and it was not till the time of Bishop Law (1824-1845), that large portions of the east and south wall were ruthlessly destroyed.

In the palace the oak staircase at the north end of Jocelyn's building was probably inserted by Bishop Berkeley (1560-1581), who destroyed for it the northern bay of the vaulting and the room above it, and probably at this time removed the partitions in the galleries on the ground floor and on the first storey, and the lancet windows in the ground-floor gallery looking west may perhaps have been then removed to make room for the present larger lights. Bishop Montague (1608-1616) is said to have spent large sums of money in restoring his palace at Wells, and to him is due the screen across the southern portion of Beckington's Hall, the west window of the chapel, and probably the Jacobean arch which leads from Jocelyn's buildings to those of Beckington. It is generally assumed also that Bishop Montague pulled

down the north-west turret staircase of Bishop Jocelyn, and made the present square tower with its Jacobean entrance porch. The top storey of it was, however, added by Mr. Ferrey for Bishop Bagot. The Palace

During the Commonwealth, Cornelius Burgess, D.D., who was recognised as the minister of Andrew's Church, or the Great Church in Wells, and lived in the deanery, purchased the palace and the manor of Wells when the bishop's estates were sold by the Commonwealth committee. In 1646 Parliament had ordained that all the bishops' lands were to be sold, and the Adventurers, *i.e.* those who had lent money to the Government on the strength of a promise of confiscated lands in Ireland, were asked to double their offers and to take an equivalent in bishops' lands in England. Burgess had lent £700 for the relief of the persecuted brethren in Ireland, and £300 to the Government for the war, and now doubled his loan and made it £3400, and took it out in the deanery, the palace, and the manor of Wells. He is said to have taken off the lead from the palace and much of the timber, and to have used in the deanery what was left unsold. The damage thus inflicted, whatever it was, Bishop Piers repaired when he came back in 1660, and though the tower erected by Bishop Beckington as an entrance to the inner court was left standing, the cloister walk and curtain wall which connected Beckington's buildings on the north with the chapel on the south were pulled down.

Bishop Beadon (1802-1824), altered Beckington's buildings on the north by raising the roof and making

two storeys and the ground floor instead of one storey and the ground floor, and put in perhaps the Early English windows in the north side of the ground floor. Bishop Law (1824-1845), only, as we have mentioned before, destroyed, and the solitariness of the south-east turret of Burnell's Hall is due to him. Bishop Bagot raised the roof of Jocelyn's buildings, and made two storeys instead of one, and the plaster ceilings in the gallery, drawing-room, and other rooms on the first storey, are due to him.

We have shown in our account of the constitution of the church, that when Bishop John de Tours transferred the see to Bath, he turned the canons of St. Andrew out of the conventual buildings which Bishop Giso had erected, and built himself, close by, a new episcopal house. The canons had to find a refuge in the small houses in the town. Clearly the bishop did not wish them to lodge with him, and he was lodged on the south side of the church. So we must look for the houses of the cathedral clergy on the other side of the church.

Now we have shown that this body consisted of canons for whom Bishops Robert and Reginald gave separate estates, and that by 1264 the number of canons amounted to fifty-three. Naturally these were not all, or always, resident, and the responsibilities for the services of the church were divided among five dignitaries chosen by the canons out of their body—*viz.* the dean, the precentor, the archdeacon of Wells, the chancellor, and the treasurer. These had to be always in residence, and so we find

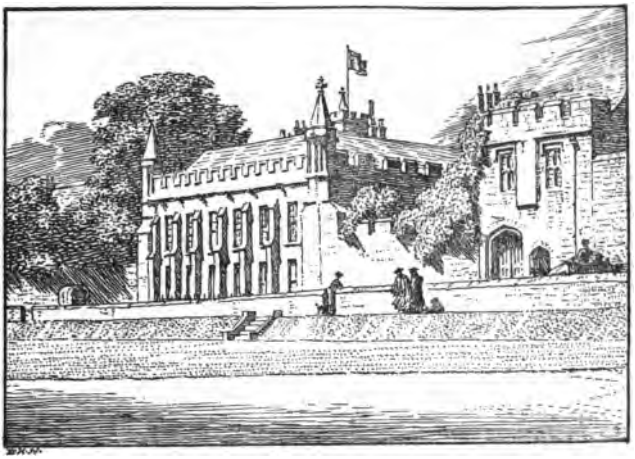
that houses for these dignitaries were all on the north side looking south and facing the church. Of them there only now remains the deanery and the hall of the Archdeacon of Wells to tell of the arrangement which once existed. There were, however, other houses, some of which belonged to the chapter and some to the bishop—houses which the bishop or the chapter could offer to canons as a ground for calling them into residence. Since the bishop desired certain of the canons who as such formed part of his greater chapter to be near him for consultation, there were always some of the canons living here in the houses of the bishop, and for the same reason the chapter gave some of their houses to canons for their help in the offices of the church. Thus there were two sets of canons living here regularly. There were the five dignitaries, and there were an indefinite number of canons. The prebendal or canons' houses were not necessarily close to the church. Several were in Mountroy and to the north-east of the church, and because of the privilege these men enjoyed as clerks, the district came to be known as the Liberty. It was outside the precincts of the church, but still within the area of the church's possessions.

The Houses of the Chapter

The deanery which faces the cathedral green was probably at first not remarkable for its size. Dean Gunthorpe, however, certainly rebuilt it 1472-1498, and in a greatly enlarged style. The living rooms as at the palace were all on the first storey, and the great hall looked to the north. The plan of the

building consisted of an outer court to the east and a small inner court to the west surrounded by kitchens and storerooms. There was probably a series of rooms on the north of the outer court, and the gatehouse was connected with them and with the main building to the west by curtain walls. The hall to the west of the outer court, which is on the left of the present entrance-porch, is probably of the latter half of the sixteenth century. While Dr. Burgess was here, during the Commonwealth, he is said to have done certain repairs and alterations, and the heavy wooden sash windows that look south over the green are said to have been put in during the time of Dean Bathurst (1670-1704), and perhaps by Sir Christopher Wren. On the eastern end of the great hall are two bays, looking the one north and the other south, of which the northern oriel is on a level with the hall, while that to the south is on a level with the floor of the solar, and both were vaulted with rich fan tracery.

As one goes eastward from the deanery the first house is on the site of that which belonged to the chancellor, and further east we come to the house of the Archdeacon of Wells. As representing the original archdeacon, the personal attendant and assistant of the bishop, the Archdeacon of Wells is one of the dignitaries of the cathedral. When the office became more independent and territorial arrangements were made for the three Archdeacons of Wells, Taunton, and Bath, the two younger archdeaconries were not placed on a level with the older in relation to the cathedral. If these archdeacons had lived in

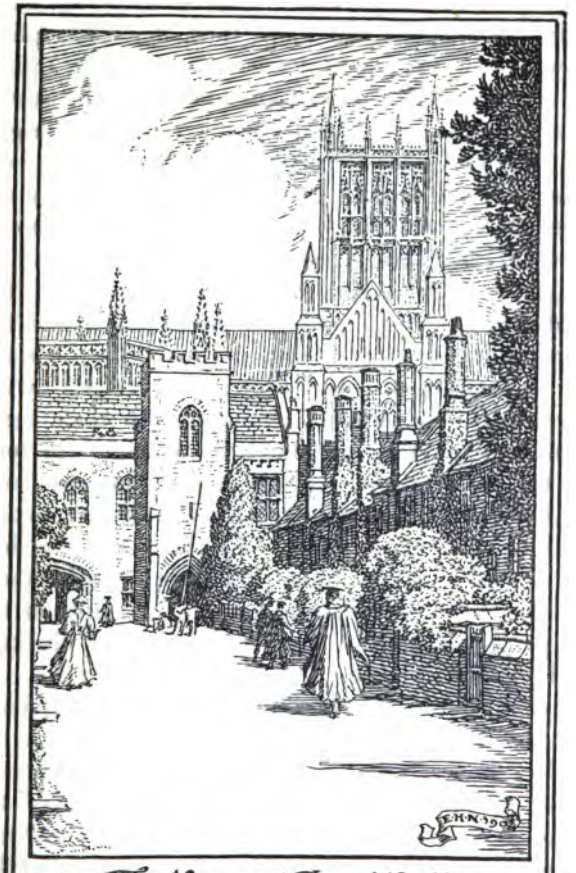


THE DEANERY FROM THE CATHEDRAL GREEN

Wells, as they very often did, they lived here as ordinary canons and their houses were given them not because they were archdeacons but because they were canons.

The house of the Archdeacon of Wells is now the library of the Theological College and was purchased by friends of the college in 1896 from a private owner. The great hall belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century, and in the eastern gable there is a very rare remnant of wooden tracery still existing in a window which is now on the inside blocked up. The hall is unusually large and has a fine fourteenth-century roof with a magnificently carved legend running round the wall plate panel. The servants' chambers and the kitchen were to the east of this hall,

and the entrances from the kitchen and buttery are evident, though now blocked up, in the eastern wall. There is also a very fine doorway on the north-east, with archway not unlike that of the entrance to Bishop Burnell's chapel at the palace. The archdeacon's private rooms were to the west of the hall but these have almost entirely disappeared, the house having been ruthlessly cut up and divided for domestic purposes into small rooms, and so it remained until it was purchased by the Theological College trustees. How the house was originally lost to the cathedral church is not quite clear. In 1517 Polydore Vergil, the Archdeacon of Wells, was discovered writing to his bishop, Hadrian de Castello in Italy, in a depreciating manner of Henry VIII., and was punished by imprisonment in the Tower of London for the rest of the year. It is possible that the house was seized by the Crown at that time, but if so it seems to have been given back to the archdeacon, for in 1546 he surrendered the house to the Crown, and probably for a consideration. In 1547 the archdeaconry was granted by Edward VI. to the Duke of Somerset, and the omission to mention any house when the endowments of the archdeaconry were taken to help endow the recreated deanery seems to suggest that the house had already been granted to some lay owner. We now come to one of the most striking features of Wells, and to a group of mediæval houses without a parallel in England. The vicars of Wells, *i.e.* the priests who assisted in the services of the cathedral church in place of the absent canons, were recognised as a



The Vicars' Close: Wells

body by Bishop Jocelyn and some attempt was made by him to organise and place them under discipline. They had, however, no common home until Bishop R. de Salopia (1329-1363) built for them the row of houses known as the Vicars' Close. There were originally forty-two houses, twenty-one on each side, each house being alike and consisting of two rooms, one above the other, with a staircase leading up to it. Many of the houses have been altered out of all recognition, two being thrown into one, and the dividing walls so pierced and pulled down and the entrance doors so built up or destroyed that it is not easy to trace them. But they can be traced by the very remarkable series of chimneys with their hexagonal tops towering up above the ridge of the roof. For the use of these vicars Bishop Ralph also built the hall to the south-west, with the kitchen underneath on the ground floor. To the north the close was shut in by a high wall. At the top and bottom of the close were two larger houses, the houses of the two principals, and to them were entrusted the keys of the gate which gave admission into the close. In the next century Bishop Bubwith (1407-1424) built the vicars a chapel at the northern end, and the whole close was repaired by Bishop Beckington (1443-1465), and he added the chamber over the chapel and inserted the panelled ceiling which divides them. The arms of this bishop and those of his executors, canons Swan, Sugar and Talbot, are to be seen on many of the chimneys. It was also during Bishop Beckington's episcopate that the remarkable

bridge, and gallery over it, was built which gave access to the cathedral from the close without allowing exit to the town. The sanction by the dean and chapter for the erection of this bridge is dated 1459. The passage probably ran through the eastern end of the earlier hall, but the tower and its chambers and the stairs leading to the hall seem to be a little earlier. In the time of Henry VIII. one of the vicars, Richard Pomeroy, added the eastern part of the hall, *i.e.* all that portion over the vaulted entrance to the close on the south, and to have placed the kitchen on the level with the hall, a groined stone vault being inserted as the ceiling of the room below. The hall was thus placed to the east of the passage, and a large portion of its western side was taken for the kitchen. The window of the hall on the north-east side looking up the close belongs to this date, and so does the fireplace with its interesting pulpit at the side. A label above bears the following inscription:—In vestris precibus habeatis comendatum dominum Ricardum Pomeroy quem salvet Jesus. Amen. Pomeroy was vicar 1504-1520.

The Houses of the Chapter

We must also draw attention to the ancient painting in the hall which depicts Bishop Ralph de Salopia as seated and receiving a petition from the vicars that he would help them to find a permanent and united home. He holds the petition in his hands—Per vicos positi villæ pater alme rogamus, ut simul uniti, te dante domos maneamus. The bishop's answer has his seal attached to the parchment—Vestra petunt merita, quod sint concessu petita: ut maneatis ita loca fecimus hic stabilita.

DOORWAY OF THE VICARS' CHAPEL

In the forefront are seen men in surplices and choir copes, and behind them, and as the result of later alterations, several vicars are adorned with ruffs, a tribute to the charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1591, which since that date, and now, govern the College of Vicars Choral.

The precincts of the cathedral on the south-west and north were, as we have already stated, surrounded by a high wall with gates leading to the town. Beyond these precincts and to the north and east of it were lands which had been given to the dean and chapter by previous bishops, and on these lands were several houses known as canons' houses and inhabited by canons who were not dignitaries. The road that ran past this wall, north and east, came to be known, because of these houses, as the Liberty, and here was the tithe-barn of the dean and chapter, which forms now a part of the Cathedral Choir School. Under the charter of Queen Elizabeth the old dignitaries were retained,

but the management of the cathedral and its service was entrusted to a dean and eight canons residentiary, the dean appointed by the Crown and the canons residentiary after the first selection to be chosen by co-option out of the larger body of canons whose appointment lay with the bishop. These eight canons might be dignitaries or they might not. Certainly, however, the loss of the archdeacon's house and the probable disappearance of the treasurer's and chancellor's houses during the sixteenth century made it necessary to use houses other than those of the dignitaries. So without the precincts and in the Liberty some of the canons residentiary now began to reside, and moreover as the influence of these canons grew, so they seem to have resided more in the Liberty and less in the precincts. The old dignitaries' houses ceased to be used, were let out on leases to lay tenants and have at last completely disappeared. Of these chapter houses, occupied at times by canons, one in the North Liberty is now assigned to the organist, one to the east of the house due north of the vicars' chapel was pulled down in 1863, the corner house has been permanently alienated and so has the house known as No. 2 East Liberty. The house known as No. 1 is a good specimen of a prebendal house of the fourteenth century altered and enlarged in the second half of the sixteenth century, and the house on the north-east of the Liberty has a good porch and an embattled parapet of the fifteenth century.

The Houses of the Chapter

There are in addition two houses east of the cathedral church, the one close to St. Andrew's

springs and the other just opposite. They are prebendal houses in the patronage of the bishop, and each house has considerable remains of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They have come now to be known as Bishop's Ribs, being freeholds which the bishop can only confer on one who is already a member of the greater chapter, and for the purpose of enabling him to reside in Wells. In pre-reformation times no member of the chapter could claim a share of the common fund of the church and of the quotidians or daily allowance for food unless he qualified by having a house in Wells. The bishop possessed eight of these houses and the dean and chapter at least eight more, so that if all were occupied there would have been more than twenty canons resident at the same time in addition to the vicars of the canons living in the close and the large body of annueller chaplains and chantry priests, of which we now tell the story in the account of the Muntroy College.

The College of Muntroy

The land which lay between New Street and College Lane to the north of the North Liberty was granted to the dean and chapter probably by Bishop Jocelyn. It had the name of Muntoria, or Mountorey, and in later times Mont Roy. When Bishop Erghum came in 1388 from Salisbury to Wells he found the College which his predecessor Bishop Ralph de Salopia had founded for the vicars of the canons finished and the vicars safely housed. There were, however, a number

A CANONICAL HOUSE IN THE NORTH-EAST LIBERTY

of other priests attached to the Cathedral as chantry priests, or priests endowed to say anniversary masses, and these as yet had no fixed abode and lodged in the town wherever they could get admission. The danger which these men ran was obvious, and there was no means by which discipline might be enforced on them. So Bishop Erghum soon after he came to Wells in 1388 purchased a house near the High Cross, then called Crystesham Inn, or Chrystyshamhyn, and gave it to the dean and chapter for the purpose of housing their priests. This and another house next door, called the Katherine Wheel Inn are referred to in a record of the dean and chapter of

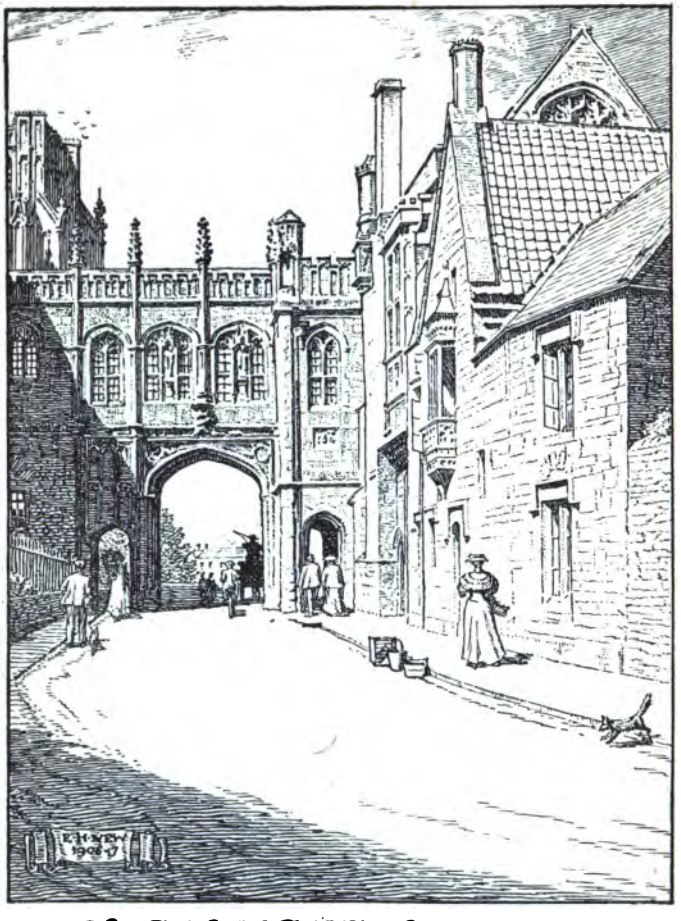
1414 as 'quod habemus ad usum dictorum annelariorium nostrorum.' This house escaped confiscation in the times of Edward the Sixth, being regarded as part of the common property of the chapter, and was afterwards known as the George Inn, and in 1854 was sold by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to Stuckey's Banking Company, and was pulled down to make way for the present bank building. Bishop Erghum, however, was not satisfied with this arrangement he had made for the housing of these priests, and in 1400 he left money for the erection of a much more suitable house in Muntoria, and so the College of Chantry Priests, known as the New Hall in Montroy, was founded north of the houses of the canons. The bishop's will is dated April 10, 1401, and he orders that the college be built for fourteen chantry priests or chaplains, and the college was to be dedicated to St. Ann. Certainly the college was completed by 1430, for in that year a settlement was arrived at between the dean and chapter, the New College, and the Mayor and commonalty of the city in reference to some rent charge to be divided between them. In the wills of Wells people in the fifteenth century the college is often mentioned. In 1401 it is referred to as the New Hall in New Street. In 1407 Richard Groos leaves money for the Common Hall of the Annuelars; in 1409 it is spoken of as the New Place of the College of Wells. In 1486 it is called the College of St. Anne in le Mountre of Wells, and in 1492 the New College of SS. Anne and Catherine, and in 1519 the New Close of Wells and the New

College of St. Anne in Wells. When the college was dissolved by the Act of 1547 all the priests seemed to have received pensions, and in Cardinal Pole's pension list their names occur in 1554 as Richard Derraunte, John Eringtoune, John Broke, Henry Bankes, Thomas Clerke, Robert Spryte, John Dyble, Walter Shepperde and John Shepperde, John Paule, William Burges, John Newes, Egidius Buttat, Morgan Comnye, and Richard Casthyin. The inventory of goods contain some interesting items, such as: washing vessels, and a miscellaneous list of utensils of the cook's house, and a moderate supply for two priests in the chapel, and one silver gilt chalice.

The Houses of the Chapter

The site of the College was in the garden behind the house known as the Cedars, where formerly stood one of the prebendal houses belonging to the dean and chapter, and it is described in 1836 as having been a large building in the Elizabethan style with gabled windows. It was used as a school for a time and was purchased by Mr. Charles Tudway in 1747 from the executors of Mrs. Mary Evans, and in 1755 pulled down to enlarge the garden of his private house.

Early in the thirteenth century there were two cathedral schools, the Choir School, where boys learnt plain song, and the Grammar School, under the chancellor, where they were trained for Holy Orders. United before the sixteenth century, they have gone on with little intermission to the present time, and in new buildings, in the North Liberty, given by the late Chancellor Bernard, flourish under the Rev. H. J. Green, the present headmaster.



The CHAIN GATE from the East

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF THE TOWN AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE BURGHERS FOR FREEDOM

THE story of the origin of the town is very obscure. It grew up as a settlement of tenants near the house and the church of the priests of Wells. Its history is at first the record of the fostering care of the bishops and afterwards of the successful struggle for independence of the citizens. It is a good example of the growth of a purely English town, though the details of its development are not specially unique. In a charter assigned to Cynewulf, King of Wessex, A.D. 766, the king grants xi mancuses of land 'ad augmentum monasterii quod situm est juxta fontem magnum quem vocitant Welwe.' This tells us of a church and some clergy to serve it. In 1061 there is a charter of Edward the Confessor which describes the locality as 'territorium Wellense quod antiquo vocabulo dicitur Tidington.' This tells us, however, nothing of a town, nor is the origin of the name Tidington at all clear. The church had grown into a cathedral church, but there is no evidence of

Wells and Glastonbury

any increase of residents. In the Domesday Survey, 1086, not a word is said of any vill or borough. The bishop had on his 8 hides of demesne land, 6 servi, 20 villani, and 14 bordarii, and the canons of St. Andrew on their 6 carucates of land had 8 servi, 16 villani, and 12 bordarii. These were all more or less in a dependent position, and if we may count them as heads of households then we may possibly say there were about 300 inhabitants in the 76 houses. It was a small village, the houses of which clustered round the church and the fountain of St. Andrew. Doubtless some of these were smiths and carpenters and masons, but most of them were certainly tillers of the ground. There must have been workmen when Bishop Giso was making his conventual buildings to the south of his cathedral church, and there certainly were such when, soon after 1088, Bishop J. de Villula built his manor house on the site of his predecessor's conventual buildings.

When Robert of Lewes became bishop in 1136, we begin, however, to find evidence of a gathering of people which suggests the beginning of a town. There were markets held here with all the noise and disorder attendant on them, and such was the distraction in the church that the canons of Wells were disturbed and public worship was hindered. So in 1160 Bishop Robert, as mesne lord, grants to his dependents living near his house and his church three markets on the feast of the Invention of the Cross, May 3, St. Calixtus Day, October 14, and on St. Andrew's Day, November 30, free from all toll and molestation by

THE CATHEDRAL FROM MILTON HILL

himself and his bailiff, provided they hold their markets in the broad places of the town in *plateis villæ*. His successor, Bishop Reginald, confirms this grant, and moreover is said to have done so 'ad petitionem burgensium nostrorum Wellensium.' So in the second half of the twelfth century we have Wells called a vill and the inhabitants designated as burghers. What then is meant by these terms? Burgage tenure of houses and lands only implies certain privileges and might be enjoyed by tenants living entirely in rural districts. A borough is a vill where men live together who enjoy burgage tenure, *i.e.* the privilege of

paying a fixed rent or performing fixed duties for their houses and land to the lord to whom the land belonged, men who unlike ordinary villeins could go in and out freely and who could leave their houses to their sons, and possibly might be allowed to sell their houses to strangers. In Bishop Reginald's second charter this is made more explicit. He grants to all having a house 'nomine burgagii,' that in future they shall possess it freely and shall be free to stop or to depart or return or pledge or sell their houses except to monastic orders. He claims for himself a moiety of the stall hire in the markets, *i.e.* of strangers setting up their stalls in the market, and he forbids the sale of certain things, such as raw hides, except in 'luna et lagha burgensium Wellarum.' This implies a beginning of self-government. The community could arrange certain matters on market days, and the bishop's bailiff was not always prominent. Moreover, as burghers they were given the power within certain limits of settling quarrels between burghers with right of appeal to the chief lord. In 1201, Bishop Savaric confirmed these privileges in perpetuity and granted to the town that within specified boundaries 'sit liberum burgum.' The boundaries mentioned can all be very nearly identified, and are as follows: 'a parte australi aqua decurrente a molendino et ab angulo virgulti nostri per quoddam vetus fossatum usque ad pratum de Hela—a prato illo per quendam rivulum usque ad pontem de Kiward—a ponte illo sicut aqua de Wellis defluit usque ad pontem qui in ingressu villæ prope capellam beati Thomæ martyris—a parte

occidentali cruce olim sita in via qua itur ad Axebrugge—a parte septentrionali cruce olim sita qua itur Bristoldum—a parte orientali via quæ prætenditur a lapidicina usque ad montem versus Tidesput per pomerium nostrum.' This confirmation of the bishop, however, that the residents within these rather wide limits should be free burghers and should enjoy 'omnes liberas consuetudines burgensium' did not create any privilege which had not existed before. It merely gave a pledge to the tenants of freedom from molestation from the bishop and his bailiff in the private details of their life.

In the year when Bishop Savaric gave this charter to his tenants a yet further step was taken and one of great importance. He obtained for his charter the confirmation of King John. So the town was recognised as a free borough and the people as *liberi burgenses*, and King John also gave them another market *de dono nostro*—on May 9 when they held the feast of the Translation of St. Andrew. Moreover the Crown granted in this confirmation that 'omnes homines ejusdem villæ et heredes eorum liberi burgenses sint in perpetuum.' The royal charter was a genuine advance. It promoted a spirit of independence, for it took the liberties of the residents out of the hands of the bishop. In future bishops could never deprive them of their markets and their burgage tenure. But it did no more. It was no charter of incorporation. There was no corporate freedom. It only established free markets for free burghers. Each burgess individually held of the bishop. They did not as a

Wells and Glastonbury

trade guild hold the borough to farm of the bishop. Many years had to elapse before this step was gained.

In 1274 we find Bishop Bytton in possession of the return and estreats of writs, of all kinds of amercements and chattels, of fugitives and persons condemned, and of fines of trespass by his men. The town was a liberty of the bishop, and process issued by the king against any burgess was sent to the bishop and executed by his bailiff. There was as yet no other officer in Wells who had power to execute such a writ.

Six years later, in 1280, in reply to a *Quo Warranto* Enquiry, the bishop was returned as in possession of the borough. It is clear therefore that there was so far no such thing as a corporate body or a mayor, though about this time, in the documents of the dean and chapter, reference is made to the seneschal of the town. He must have been the elected head of a trade guild which as yet had not got formal recognition from the bishop. The inhabitants however were certainly very active during the early years of Edward First, and the bishop and the dean and chapter were becoming anxious as to their rights. In 1286 licence was obtained from the Crown to wall in and fortify the cemetery of the church and the precincts of the canons' houses, a sure sign of the rivalry and separation which was slowly appearing. This wall ran in the centre of the present houses that bound the Cathedral Green, beginning at the south-west, by the Market Place, and passing along Saddler Street and the North Liberty and down the East Liberty.

In 1289 the town obtained from Edward the First a confirmation of their charter from King John, the charter which had made them free burghers and their town a free borough. Soon after, in 1315, we find the townsfolk using a common seal, and in 1336 they use it in a bond by which they bind themselves for certain sums to the dean and chapter. The deed is signed by Richard le Eyr, the seneschal of the guild of the town, and the chapter accepted the bond so signed and sealed. The bond, however, only bound the persons named in it. There was as yet no corporate action, for there was as yet no corporation.

The Rise of the Town

From evidence that appeared later it would almost seem that the town had applied to the Crown sometime between the years 1307 and 1330, for a charter which would confer a coroner and a mayor, and that no burgher should be impleaded outside the borough. They asked for it in a declaratory form which, while it was intended to state only what the town already enjoyed, would really have conferred on the burghers privileges they had not as yet enjoyed. This petition was certainly not granted, and we do not know how the attempt was frustrated. But the ambition of the townsmen was now very evident, and their feeling towards the bishop was hardly cordial. In 1340, as if fearing an attack, Bishop Ralph de Salopia obtained a licence to wall in and fortify his palace, and in 1341 the townsfolk made yet another earnest attempt to obtain a declaratory confirmation of their charter, and they sent up £40 to make easy the passage of

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their demand. They also paid for a patent to permit them to levy a rate for the building of walls which they proposed to erect round the town. This time they were successful, and they obtained a charter granting to them a mayor, bailiffs, a coroner and constables. The grant was made to the burgesses, their heirs and successors. They were to have a borough gaol, the return of the king's writs within the town, and they were licensed to enclose the town with a wall, ditches and moats. Such a charter made them, of course, independent of the bishop, and was a flagrant disregard of the possessions and rights of one of the king's tenants in chief. In November 1341 the bishop therefore made his move and obtained a writ of 'scire facias' for the repeal of the charter. The terms of the charter had been granted incautiously. They had certainly been obtained dishonestly. No previous inquiry 'ad quod damnum' had been issued before the granting of the new charter and the omission of this step invalidated the grant. So the burgesses were summoned to appear in January 1342, and to bring their new charter into the Court of Chancery. It was soon then found that the bishop was a tenant in chief of the king, and under such tenure held the town, and that all the burgesses were his tenants. The bishop therefore gained his cause and judgment was rightly given against the town at the Michaelmas sitting of the Court, 1342. The charter which had been obtained by fraud was withdrawn and cancelled. Of course this controversy produced some bitterness

THE BISHOPS' EYE FROM THE EAST

between the people and the bishop, and Bishop Ralph this year was busily engaged in fortifying his palace. In obedience also to this decree, he endeavoured to assert his waning authority by compelling his bailiff to collect his dues from the townsmen. There were then two yearly Courts Leet indicating the manorial nature of the town, and there was also the Hundred Court every three weeks, showing the responsibility which the bishop had assumed for the benefit of the

tenants of his houses. There was also a further Lord's Court of contracts and covenants, which was held twice a year. These last two courts indicated the burgher franchise of the citizens, and the arrangement which their mesne lord had made with them. Bishop Ralph therefore endeavoured to continue to hold these courts, and sent his bailiff to preside, to conduct inquiries and to exact fines. Then came John le Kyng and other ringleaders of the opposition, and they persuaded the citizens to stop the supply of all that ale which was known as Tolcestre, and to refuse and prevent the exaction of dues leviable at the Fairs. So the bishop had to appeal to the Crown, and the case was heard on August 24, 1343, and went by default, as the town could not defend their illegal action. The town was also fined in £3000 damages to the bishop on account of the riotous behaviour of the citizens and the injury they had inflicted on him. The costly and substantial walls, bastions, and gate houses, which the bishop erected round his palace in Wells, may have been paid for by these fines from the burgesses, though it is more probable and in accordance with a growing custom that he held this power of exaction of the fine in terror over them.

It is clear, however, that during the reign of Edward III. the town was not a corporate body. It had indeed sent two members to Parliament since 1298, but these were chosen under the eye of the bishop in the Hundred Court and by the burgesses who were members of the city trade guild.

In 1377 the charters of the town were confirmed on

his accession to the throne by Richard II., and they are then specified as those of King John and of King Edward I. In 1400, however, we have the second important step in the road to independence. Henry IV., on his assuming the Crown, confirmed the city charters to the burgesses and their successors. His charter was a charter of incorporation, and recognised distinctly the town as a corporate body governed by the mayor, the masters, and the commonalty. At first it is not easy to see how this advance was gained. We have no evidence of the formation of any city trade guild, but many documents of the latter half of the fourteenth century suggest its existence, and it is probable that since all the burghers were members of the guild, the organisation of a guild which had been licensed possibly by Edward I. was accepted as the organisation of the town, and so the men of the guild were accepted and recognised by the Crown as the men of the town. When once this had been accomplished then the two bodies would go on separately, and the men of the guild were not admitted as burghers until they had fulfilled certain specified conditions. The natural tendency would be for the town to outstrip the guild. In 1409 we find in another charter of Henry IV. that the citizens are divided into the 'majores and mediocres burgenses,' and the citizens in convocation decided that the city council was to consist of twelve of the majores burgenses and twelve of the other sort. The earliest volume of the city records contains minutes of the Acts of the Corporation from 1378 to 1450. The

CONDUIT BY ST. ANDREW'S SPRINGS

election of the civic officers is carefully entered, and the earliest record tells of that convocation held on Tuesday before St. Matthew's Day 1378, when Nicholas Cristesham was chosen mayor. 'Tota civitas elegerunt pro Magistro totius civitatis Wellensis Nicholas Cristesham. It was indeed a bold anticipation of that power and freedom which the citizens were bent on acquiring, for as yet he could only have been a popularly elected seneschal or president of the trade guild of the town. These early records, moreover, show clearly how the guild was the stepping-stone to burgage privilege, for they are full of recognitions of admissions to the guilds, a recognition

which, when granted, carried with it the rights and privileges of a burgher. The new burgher is either a relative of some older one, or has married into his family. To take an instance from the minutes of 1437—on the Thursday before St. Matthew's Day—'Venit Willelmus Poynton et dat Magistro et Communitati pro libertati habenda in burgo predicto x^{s}.' It was the fine for the formal recognition that as a member of the guild he was a fully equipped burgher, and this seems the clearer from the fact that in nearly every case the man's trade is definitely specified. We find mention of bakers, hostelers, masons, carpenters, tuckers, cotilers, plasterers, tailors, butchers, weavers, pewterers, and goldsmiths. The new freeman had to produce his sureties as to his right and as a pledge of his conduct. In 1422, Robert Bullock, a freeman, praying for his recognition as a freeman of the borough, brought as his sureties John Calf and John Norman.

In 1424 there is another charter of Henry VI., which refers to the predecessors of the burghers, so that the idea of incorporation was now a fact. The town existed as a corporate body distinct from the individual citizen. This advance was, of course, most important, and during this fifteenth century we find from the city records that the community met regularly and settled all questions concerning the management of their own affairs without interference from the bishop or his bailiff. The members of parliament were also now chosen not in the Hundred Court under the bailiff's eye, but by virtue of the charter of Edward IV., 1472 and 1477, were chosen

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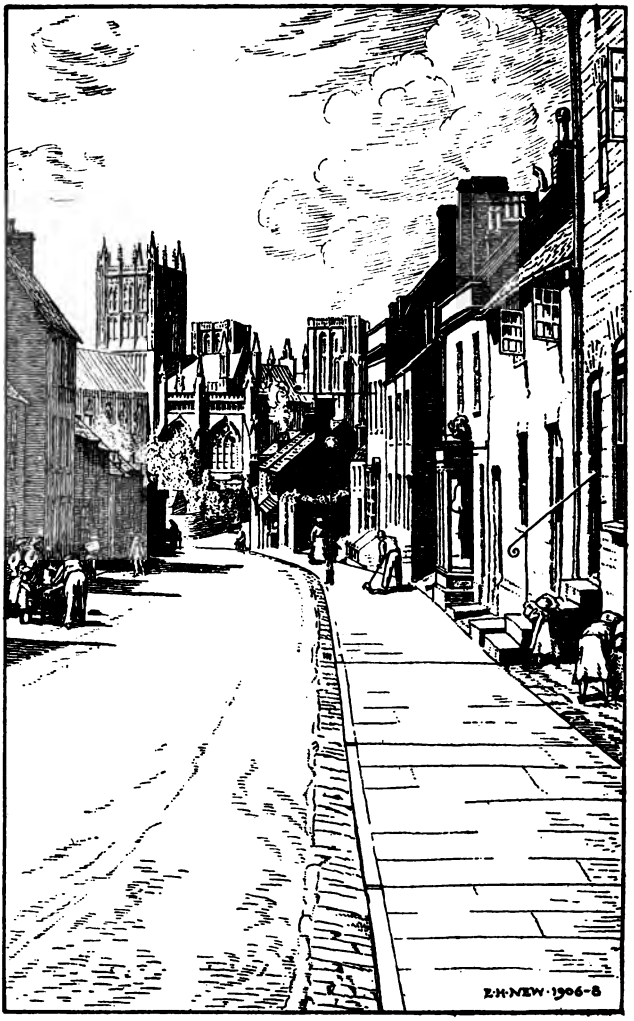
in convocation by the mayor and the commonalty. In the city records the presence of the bishop's bailiff is never once indicated. He is entirely ignored. The charter also of 1437 recognises the Council as distinct from the Convocation, as consisting of the mayor and twenty-four of the more eminent citizens. A body was being formed to govern in the name of the citizens the affairs of the city, which, while its authority rested on the goodwill of the citizens, was also if necessary able to act independently of them. For instance, in 1419, we find an important decision of this body taking precaution for the preservation of the city from fire:—'It is ordained by the Master and Commonalty that if any man or woman lighting a fire shall, through neglect, cause a conflagration and loss, and it be proved against him, he shall pay as fine one hundred shillings to the fabric fund of the church of St. Cuthbert.'

Moreover, in 1474, the citizens elected Mr. John Boynton as their town-clerk, a step which showed they desired to have some permanent official to correspond as it were with the bailiff of the bishop, and in 1477 they went even a step further, and chose Mr. John Fitzjames as their first recorder,—an act which proved they desired to hold courts distinct from those of the bishop, and which should be also courts of record. This same year also William Fox, a burgess, was fined because he had dared to sue another burgess in the bishop's court, and was not forgiven until he had given the commonalty a present of six gallons of wine.



THE CATHEDRAL FROM ST. ANDREW STREET

CHAPTER V

THE GROWTH OF THE CORPORATION

BUT how, it may be asked, did the bishop regard this growing independence of his burgage tenants? There is little to inform us, and some of the bishops were so largely occupied in State affairs that they probably had little time to give to it or inclination to try and check it. But in 1493 Bishop Fox felt himself compelled to take a definite step. The corporation of Wells had opened new mills and this without his sanction. Sir Amyas Paulet, his steward, and Canon Richard Nykke, his vicar-general, went to Dogmersfield, where he was staying, to consult on the matter, and there the three drew up four points of complaint against the townsfolk, and on April 15, 1493, the mayor summoned the burgesses to the chapter-house, and Dean Gunthorpe presided over their deliberations. Bishop Fox charged the burgesses with four illegalities:

1. That they hold themselves as king's burgesses and not mine.

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2. That they usurp the making and removing of burgesses when the authority of such pertaineth only unto me.
3. That when the bishop's bailiff makes a burgess the town does not receive him until they have remade him for themselves.
4. The burgesses by custom of the manor were wont to serve the bishop's mills but now the said burgesses have opened strange mills.

At the meeting in the chapter-house the mayor and burgesses deputed John Taylor to go and answer the bishop's charge on behalf of the town and tell him that they had made burgesses for the last three hundred years in the lord's guildhall—a rather bold and doubtful statement—and had removed them for just causes, and that they continue to do so, and that in the reign of Henry VI. the good Bishop Bubwith built them a new hall for their meetings and assemblies. They recognise that the bishop's bailiff has gone on in the meanwhile making burgesses, and as for the lord's mills they use them for their own convenience, but for no other reason, because they claim that they are free burgesses.

On June 11 the messenger returned and reported that he had found the bishop at Kenilworth and had given him the letter which the council had drawn up on April 22, and had assured him that the burgesses would be good and faithful after their power as they can think to be. The bishop, he said, was very friendly and spoke of the citizens as his neighbours

and would have them be content to live under the right of the Church according as it is their duty. From Warwick also he had written on April 27 that—'it would not be a little prejudice to me standing your lord and lord of the burgh to call yourselves the king's burgesses, except ye bide by the grant of King John, which I trow at length ye will refuse.'

The growth of the Corporation

The answer, however, which John Taylor brought to the citizens on June 11 does not seem to have satisfied the more ambitious of the commonalty, so it was then decided to send Richard Vowell, the mayor, and Richard Burnell, a burgess, as another deputation to the bishop; and as early as June 24 they are able to report at a meeting of the commonalty, called for the purpose, that through the mediation of Sir Reginald Bray they had been well received by the bishop, who expressed his readiness to confirm their charters received from Bishops Robert, Reginald, and Savaric, and that from King John, and he told them he wished to add to their liberties rather than curtail them. The bishop, they also reported, was very hospitable and paid them their expenses to and from Warwick. And here the incident seems to have ended. The town was evidently bent on gaining its complete independence, and wished for a charter which would give it to them. But they perceived that it was not to their interests to provoke Bishop Fox and they gladly let well alone.

On June 9, 1539, however, we find complaints beginning again. The burgesses protest that they cannot enjoy their freedom owing to the bishop's

EFFIGY OF BISHOP BECKINGTON

bailiff compelling all the tradespeople to pay for a licence to the bishop to do business, and so the bakers, brewers, fishers, innholders, millers, and butchers are hampered in their trades. They claim that the borough is free for all burgesses to buy or sell without payment of any toll or tax.

Later on a Court of Record is definitely ordered on September 18, 1541, to be set up and held on every xvth day, and the accounts of the proceedings are not to be kept in the town-hall where the mayor's records were preserved, but in the Court itself in the Checker, the new hall built for the town by Dean Woolman and Bishop Knight, in the centre of the market-place.

In 1554 the charters were formally confirmed by Queen Mary, and again in the following year by Philip and Mary, but there was no extension of their liberties. In 1560, Bishop Gilbert Berkeley was made Bishop of Bath and Wells and seems soon to have taken steps to suppress the progressive tendencies of

the citizens. On March 11, 1566, he complained of the town keeping the Three Weeks' Court for the burgesses between themselves, and forbade the town to take a bond of tailors, being burgesses, for the reformation of apparel, and the masters and brethren to sit round the High Cross when his bailiff read out notices and proclamations. To this the town replied that they would not give up any order which had been heretofore customary within their town.

The growth of the Corporation

Again the next year the bishop complained and demanded from the citizens certain payments of law costs, and the town replied by refusing to deal with the bishop, and in 1573, on October 21, the town decided to set up a Linen Hall out of one of its houses, and appointed Edward Bravell to act as warden of it.

On March 5, 1573, we have definite evidence of the existence of a Court of Record, and we find mention of William Bowman as recorder, Thomas Leigh and Richard Godwyn as justices of the peace, and William Smyth as mayor. Then in August of the same year it was agreed to appeal to the queen against the bishop showing forth his misdemeanour towards the mayor and the town, and when, on September 30, William Goodman, who had been chosen mayor for the ensuing year, refused to serve he was discommuned and was driven 'to leap out of a little door of the hall, which may be an example for ever.'

Late then in the autumn of 1573, a commission sat in Wells under authority of the Crown to take evidence as to the conflicting claims of the town

and the bishop. The commissioners were Thomas Lord Paulet, Sir Moryce Berkeley, Sir George Rogers, Sir Henry Portman, Sir John Clayton, and George Smith, Esq. Bishop Berkeley found his rights were threatened and was alarmed as to what would happen. He produced a good deal of evidence in support of his contention, and from it we give a small selection. John Lane, Vicar of Othery, aged 57, said that he had been steward of Bishop Bourne (1554-1559) and that the town had never enjoyed independence but had merely met together on the summons of the mayor to elect burgesses and constables. The bishops he said were the sole lords and owners of the city and they and their officers alone had rule and governance over the inhabitants. He said, however, that things had not been working smoothly, for the mayor had licensed tipplers and had certified his act at the next quarter sessions, and assemblies had been held and townsmen had definitely been told not to answer in the bishop's court on matters inquirable by them. The mayor and master had also made men free of the town and had licensed them to open shops, and had received fines and had spent them on feasts, and this had certainly been going on since the time of Bishop Knight (1541-1547). Before this time however the witness said that the bishop had always received the toll for the opening of windows, *i.e.* of shop fronts. Indeed, Lane continued, he had as bishop's bailiff been assaulted and imprisoned as he was exercising his office, and the townsmen had put him in the cage and torn his gown, and John Quarre, another bailiff,

had been put into the stocks. In 1528, he continued, the three weeks' court was still recognised as the bishop's court, and burgesses were wont to plead in it. The bishop had certainly ruled over the bakers, butchers, victuallers, and innholders, and had fined them for breaches of rules, and bread and victuals not up to the standard had been seized and had been given to the poor as unwholesome or of insufficient weight. The constables and officers of the town, though chosen by the mayor and commonalty, made their reports in the bishop's courts, and the queen's bailiff, *i.e.* a new officer hitherto unknown, was not allowed to sit in the market in the city where the bishop's bailiff was wont to rule. Adam Martyn of Henton, another witness, corroborated the evidence of the previous witness, and added that though he was clerk of the peace for Somerset he was unaware of any burgess giving a licence for tipplers, but only that the mayor and council certified to the bishop those who were licensed tipplers, and this evidence was further confirmed by Thomas Rowe, the session's marshall.

The growth of the Corporation

Robert Allen, an old inhabitant of Wells, said that no other than the bishop had ruled in Wells, and that the burgesses, when assembled, only appointed the officers for the town, *i.e.* the constables, church-wardens, street wardens, and conduit wardens. He had seen a baker placed in the pillory by Morgan Gette, the deputy-bailiff of the bishop, and he saw the ladder put up and the baker released, but he did not know who had given the order for the man to be

taken down. There is much more in these depositions, which all tends to prove that legal right was certainly on the side of the bishop. The town, however, was striving hard to gain complete independence and had acted for a long time past in sullen rebellion, and the bishops had not ventured to check them.

On October 1, 1574, the controversy was still proceeding, and in 1575 Bishop Berkeley wrote to Lord Burleigh in great alarm, saying that he had heard that the townsmen had got a new charter. This was not quite correct. They were indeed doing all they could to obtain one, but the bishop's complaint was probably followed by a *Quo Warranto*, and the efforts were delayed. On November 10, 1577, the citizens were expecting and making arrangement for 'the New Charter,' but in 1578, to their great disappointment, they had to be content with a simple charter of *inspeximus* and confirmation of the rights and privileges granted to them by earlier charters. They held their own. There was no advance and there was no loss.

Six years afterwards Thomas Godwin succeeded Gilbert Berkeley as bishop of Bath and Wells. He was favourable towards the ambitions of the citizens, and we find on November 4, 1584, that John Colles is sent by the town to London to Mr. W. Smith and to confer there with the Lord Bishop about the new charter. Nearly three years, however, had to pass away before their desires were satisfied, and on April 20, 1589, the bishop gave his final consent, and the charter of Queen Elizabeth, which gave independence

to the town, was issued in July of that same year. The charter declares that the town shall be a free city and borough of itself, that there shall be one body corporate and politic in substance, fact, and name, and that that body should be called the mayor, masters, and burgesses of the city and borough of Wells. Two courts were granted, a court of record, which was really an ancient court, and which is now to be formally presided over by the recorder, and which seems to have continued down to the time of Charles the First, when apparently it was gradually absorbed by the court of quarter sessions of the county, and with it also the court of three weeks. This last was the old Hundred Court, and which, originally a court of the bishops, since it was only his predecessor's action that had made the town a hundred, now became under the authority of the Crown, a court of the borough independent of the bishop. Of course, at first there was some rivalry between this court and the Hundred Court of the bishop, and this rivalry existed down to 1628, when, on the demand of Bishop Laud's bailiff, it was shown to be the old bishop's court confirmed by this charter and made independent, but the bishop's court slowly passed away and chiefly owing to desuetude.

The growth of the Corporation

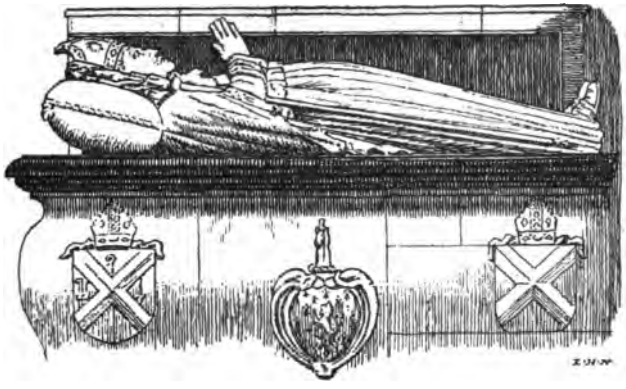
A gaol was also granted to the citizens distinct from the bishop's prison, and power was given them to imprison debtors in it, and they were allowed to make byelaws and ordinances for the government of the inhabitants and of the artificers and tradesfolk and which would prevent them setting up their trades

without the consent of the wardens of the guild of their craft. Two other fairs were given, of three days each—on the Feast of the Ascension and on June 21.

The actual title under which the corporation were to be known was a matter of some discussion. In 1582 the commonalty had claimed, and their claim had been allowed, that the council should consist of the mayor and twenty-three assistants.

On August 23, 1624, the town was called upon to show its charter, and after the gap in the city records from 1665 to 1687 we find the town in trouble owing to a new charter which had been granted to them by Charles II. This charter was granted on January 10, 1684, and stated, what was not true, that the citizens had petitioned for a new charter under the idea that their old charter had lapsed. It creates a mayor, seven aldermen and sixteen capital burgesses; David Trym was to be the first town clerk, Thomas Wyndham the recorder, and Richard Hole the first mayor. The king reserved to himself the right to remove in privy council the mayor, and the city was not to do anything prejudicial to the interests and liberties of the bishops of Bath and Wells, or of the dean and chapter of Wells.

When the records begin again in 1687 we find the city in debt £650, largely in reference to the efforts made to obtain the quashing of this charter, and in 1688 this obnoxious charter was annulled and they got back all the privileges which the charter of Queen Elizabeth had given them, but even in 1689, when King William and Queen Mary were loyally



EFFIGY OF BISHOP CREYGHTON

proclaimed, we find the mayor enjoined by the council to do all he could to get back the quarter sessions to the city, and the burgesses pledge themselves to repay him any monies he might expend to further that object.

The charter therefore of 1589 remained as the charter under which the city was governed until the Reform Act of 1835. Every one of the capital burgesses, *i.e.* the burgesses, who formed with the mayor, the corporation, had to reside within the boundaries of the city, and none of these were allowed to stay away beyond three months without a special permission from the mayor and the council.

The right of the freedom of the city could be gained either by birth or marriage with the daughter or widow of a burgess, or by apprenticeship in one of the city trade guilds. The charter of 1589 is the

only one since the time of Savaric which gives us information concerning the boundaries of the city. The borough was declared to consist now of all the parish of St. Cuthbert except a doubtful ten acres of land with fifteen houses on it lying on the north-east side of the city. Within the boundary also were portions of the tithings of Burcot, Milton, Walcombe, Coxley and West Horrington. The liberty of St. Andrew was within the circuit of the city but was not subject to the city magistrates. The mayor was empowered to make perambulations of the city, and certain old boundary stones still exist to show the observance of a custom which, however, in 1835 had ceased beyond the memory of the citizens. Under the Reform Act of that year all East Wells was included within the city as well as that portion which under the Elizabethan charter had been left uncertain, and the title of the corporation was also changed and the council was henceforth to consist of the mayor, four aldermen, and twelve councillors, and the officers of the council were to be the mayor, town clerk, the chamberlain, two sergeants at mace and a common crier.

The two members of Parliament, who were in the time of Edward I. elected by the burgesses assembled in the county court, were in the reign of Henry V. chosen by the mayor and commonalty assembled in convocation. The charter of Elizabeth and the seventeenth-century charters, however, assigned them to the burgesses and freemen, and the mayor was the returning officer. As admission into one of the six

city guilds gave the member, on recognition, the rights of a burgess, it was through the city guilds that strangers obtained the power of voting in parliamentary elections. This liberty of course opened a way to corruption, and in 1721 there were serious riots in the town owing to the cordwainers and worsted companies admitting clandestinely into their guilds men who had not served their apprenticeship in the town and yet who claimed the right to vote for members of parliament as against the corporation. It was probable that this action of the companies induced the corporation to claim the right to make men free of the city *ex gratia*, and this claim was allowed in the Parliament of 1766. There had been a disputed election for a member, in place of Henry, Lord Digby, in the previous year, 1765, and a scrutiny was ordered in which the validity of each vote could be considered. There were two candidates for the vacant seat, Mr. Robert Child, who was Sheriff of Warwickshire, and Mr. Peter Taylor, the son of Mr. Paris Taylor, the Sheriff of Somerset for 1745. The mayor was Mr. Robert Tudway, a friend of Mr. Child, and the recorder, Mr. John Burland, was opposed to the mayor. When the sheriff, or apparently the recorder acting for the sheriff, arrived in the city, he sent word to the mayor that unless he came to the town hall, *i.e.* the Almshouse Hall in Chamberlain Street, by 5 P.M. Dec. 20, 1765, he would hand the writ to the senior master, Mr. W. Keats. In answer Mr. Tudway wrote:—'Sir, I am particularly engaged with company and I cannot conveniently leave my house, but shall

The growth of the Corporation

be ready to wait upon the sheriff here, to receive the precept whenever he thinks proper to deliver it. I am sir, yours, Robert Tudway. Friday, December 20, 1765.' The sheriff, however, would not go out of the jurisdiction of the city, and Mr. Tudway's house was in the Liberty of St. Andrew, and as Mr. Tudway held out the recorder gave the writ to Mr. Keats. On December 26 the mayor went to the Almshouse Hall and demanded of the recorder to administer the oath to him as the returning officer, but Mr. Burland refused, and swore in Mr. Keats who had in his pocket the writ sent by the sheriff. When a poll was demanded, voting began, and two votes were given for Mr. Child, and then the mayor decided to adjourn to the Assize Hall, in the Market Place, but Mr. Keats and the recorder refused and continued to receive the votes where they were. The mayor, however, persisted, and at the Assize Hall received 129 more votes for Mr. Child, but meanwhile Mr. Keats had received 180 votes for Mr. Taylor, and finally declared Mr. Taylor elected, and the election was sustained on petition. The quarrel caused much excitement in Wells, and on July 4, 1766, the recorder was dismissed, and the mayor and council elected Mr. Alexander Popham on August 2 in his place. Mr. Burland, however, did not submit to his deposition, and, on a writ of mandamus being issued that autumn against the town, Mr. Burland was formally received once more as recorder on February 26, 1767, since the reason for his dismissal was in law insufficient. The trading companies that

had claimed the right to confer the franchise were:— The growth of the Corporation

The Brewers, which died out in 1831.
The Innholders, which ceased in 1808.
The Worstedmen.
The Stocking Makers or Woolcombers.
The Butchers.
The Hammerers.
The Cordwainers and the Tailors.

Of these the stocking makers and the butchers died out as a company about 1793. The silk trade was given up before 1833, though there was still in that year one large stocking factory, and the cheese market in Wells was the largest in the west of England. In 1830 the town was certainly waning. The number of burgesses amounted to 460. Of these city companies there exists the minute-book of the cordwainers, which records their official transactions from 1606 to October 26, 1721. These entries refer almost entirely to feastings which resulted on payment of fines for admission. For instance: '17 November 1606. At Georg Jones drinking Charells Ewens came and desired to be free of the company of the cordwayners, and it was granted him for the fine of 40s., which 40s. was payed presently by Charells Ewens, and he must make a brekfaste for the company the morrowe after twelf daye next.'

Again, on August 17, 1606, 'Isaake Weyburs came and desired to be free of the cordwayners, and itt was granted him for the sum of 3s. 4d. because he was a prentes withe his father, being a freeman also. He

must make us a brekfaste the Thursday after Myhillmas day next.'

In 1605 we have a list of the cordwainers present on October 25, viz., William Gorway, George Neybours, Vertu Hunt, Richard Holbroke, John Crese, Thomas Burstowe, George Jones, John Burstowe, John Gornyge, Thomas Wickin, Charells Adnor, Isake Nayboure, John Addicot and John Gorway, George Neybours was chosen master of the company for the year, and there was delivered to him in stock £5 16s. 8d. There were thirteen drinkings this year.

In 1619 we read that there were 'no drinkings this yeare, nor no money payed because of our master, John Eddicot hys longe sicknesse and some other crosses which happened in thys yere being master of our company.'

On November 4, 1620, it was agreed by the company of cordwainers, whose names are underwritten, that from henceforth every master of the company shall make a dinner for the said company yearly on Crispinus' day (except that happen on Friday or Saturday, then Thursday) according to the ancient custom at his owne costs and chardges, without taking or detayning anything in his hands for the same, other than their or any of their voluntary contributions or benevolence, any former ordynance or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. This is signed by H. Hulbroke, Master and Richard Hulbroke, Vertue Hunt, Wm. Gorway, John Morgan, John Isaac, Carolus Evans, John Crees and John Cornish.

On August 20, 1613, we find an entry of a gala day for Wells.—'Item layd out upon her Majestie came to Wells as by to several billes it doth appere, £6 1s. 1d. John Crese, master.'

The growth of the Corporation

At the end of the book there is an entry which apparently belongs to the year 1608, and which shows the firm hold the company had upon its members—'showmakers shall not sill any bottes or shows upon the Wensday or Satterday being the marketts untill the klock hath finished xii. upon pain 9d.'

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THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH

CHAPTER VI

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF THE CITIZENS

APART and in addition to the history of the society or corporation to which a man belongs, and in the work of which he takes his share and responsibility, there is the record of his unofficial and family life which is so human, and which is, therefore, always so full of interest. It is seldom we know much of this until letter-writing became general, and letters purely private and social were preserved. A town, however, desires to know who they were who walked their streets five centuries ago, and occupied the houses on the site of those which stand to-day. A lay subsidy list for the collection of a twentieth for the king, in 1327, gives us a list of names, some of which have not yet died out, and all of which it is of interest to know.

Wells and Glastonbury

BURGUS WELLE.

Richard le Eyr.	Philip Hayward.
William de Chester.	Thomas de Mertok.
Thomas de Testewode.	Wm. Westover.
Nicholas Bale.	Wm. de Hamme.
John Craste.	Wm. atte Watere.
John Teler.	Nicholas Trynt.
Roger Folybrok.	Henry le Eyr.
John de Potager.	Walter Damolde.
Walter Baudryf.	Philip Storel.
Robert de Levyngton.	Adam Bynnethworth.
John de Cote.	Wm. Beket.
Richard Toly.	Wm. Westbury.
Richard atte More.	Robert Chamberleyn.
Robert de Mertoke.	Wm. Scot.
Richard le Pope.	Stephen Wedmer.
Hugo de Somerton.	Thomas Mascon.
Stephen May.	Alan le Spycer.
Wm. le Lode.	John Markannt.
Peter le Botoyr.	Walter Brassettar.
Henry Martel.	John de Norton.
Nicholas Gyly.	Robert de Forde.
Henry le Bakere.	Wm. Puryton.
Wm. de Ayston.	Richard Courteys.
Alex. Henekyng.	Thomas le Saltar.
Gilbert Boghiars.	Walter atte Putte.
Wm. Basset.	Walter de Strete.
Richard Curteys.	Jordan Piscor.
Thomas de Dorchester.	Richard Bradewelle.
Nicholas Chamberleyn.	Wm. Langerugg.
Adam Cheleworth.	Wm. le Ferour.
Brian Daubervyle.	Thomas Devenisch.
Thomas Huchecok.	John de Merk.
Summa xx[e] Burgi Welle	xli vjd.

The earlier official records of the city are, however,

so brief that little of general interest can be obtained from them beyond what we have referred to in other chapters. During the year 1449 many outrages were committed by the country labourers against the clergy under the notion that the Church was accountable for the then distress. Bishop Moleyns of Chichester was murdered by the mob at Portsmouth, and Bishop Ayscough of Salisbury was murdered at Edington in Wilts in June 1450. We are not surprised, then, to find in the Dean and Chapter Records for the year 1449 the payment of £3, 16s. 11½d. to Lord de Bonvyle, Edward Hull, Walter Rodeney, John Wake, Alexander Hody, Richard Chock, and other gentlemen who came to Wells for the defence of the Church and its ministers.

Incidents in the life of the Citizens

In 1467 we are surprised to find that only five of the commonalty were alive, and that these five formally elected nineteen others to make up the twenty-four.

During the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck, the Cornish rebels marched towards London to insist on reform. As they passed through Somerset, the Abbots of Athelney, Muchelney, and Cleeve, joined or gave them pecuniary aid, and in Wells many showed them considerable favour. In 1497 Henry VII. marched westward to suppress the rebellion and to punish its sympathisers. Oliver King had been appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells in place of Bishop Fox, who had been promoted to Durham, and he hastened to make his official entry into Wells in advance of his sovereign. He arrived on September 30, 1497, and the next day

Wells and Glastonbury

came Henry VII. with 10,000 horse. He lodged with Dean Gunthorpe for one night and then passed on to Glastonbury. From Wells was demanded, by way of fine for the sympathy they had shown, £313, 13s. 2d., and the streets scheduled for the assessment of this heavy penalty were High Street, Wetelane, Southovyr, Towker Street, St. Cuthbert Street, Chamberlain Street, and Grope Lane.

On February 10, 1509, Bishop Clerk made his public entry. In the summer of 1537, it is ordered that every inhabitant shall have a tub of water or a stand of water at his door during the heat of the year.

On June 22, 1554, instructions were issued for the setting forth of the crafts to keep the king's and queen's watch on midsummer night yearly, and in 1592 we find the corporation engaged on drawing up rules for the governance of the tailors' craft and Mr. William West was appointed first master.

The town suffered much from the plague, in 1574, 1592, and in 1625, and in 1596 the famine was severely felt. On October 5, 1593, it was ordered that a red cross should be set up on the doors of all persons whose houses have been infected since September 1592, and we also find reference to the setting up of the stocks at the end of Mr. Hiscox's house.

During the Civil War the city suffered probably much more than it had suffered in the sixteenth century, and that as much from the wanton lawlessness of the soldiers as from the excess of religious

zeal of the Puritans. Naturally Royalist, it was several times captured by Puritans from without, and the story of the changes is somewhat complicated. In one of the volumes in the Chapter Library, *Ludolphus de Vita Christi*, there are several side-notes which tell us of the grief felt by some quiet churchman, who was contemporary with the events. 'On Wednesday, April 8, 1642,' this nameless churchman wrote, 'Mr. Richard Allen, Junr., clerk, being instituted to the parsonage of Batcombe, which was lately belonging to one Mr. Richard Barnard, a great precisian, coming for an induction with a brother of his being likewise a clergyman and another stranger, a layman, being a Londoner, there being a very fair crucifix at the upper end of the south side of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, in Wells, behind the Quire, this Londoner most maliciously threw a stone at it and broke it, the said Mr. Allen standing by at the lower end of this aisle and beholding it and watching that no man came the while.'

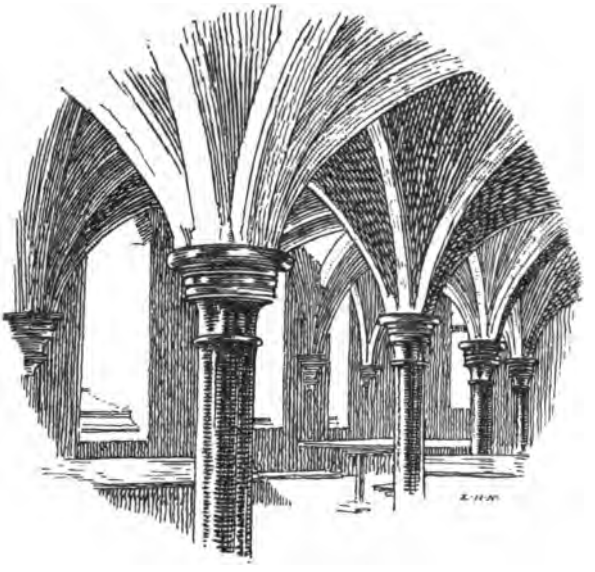
Incidents in the life of the Citizens

In August of this year the Marquis of Hertford, Lord Paulet, and Sir Ralph Hopton were quartered in Wells. The town itself was loyal, but the country around was rapidly showing sympathy with the Parliamentarians. On the Mendips above Wells, a large body of local gentry under Sir Francis Popham, Sir John Horner, Mr. Richard Cole, and Mr. Stroud had gathered, and many came to them from Bristol and even from Wilts and Gloucestershire. The Royalist force in the city seemed provocative, and the Marquis of Hertford had retired from Shepton Mallet before

Wells and Glastonbury

this gathering and had stopped in Wells. The Parliamentarians encamped about four miles off, and in sight of the city, and the country people on all sides, as soon as they knew their wants, brought them ample provision of food. The men were eager to attack the city, and were reckoned as 1200 in number, and they felt themselves quite equal to drive the Cavaliers from the city, vaunting that they would send them all as prisoners to the Parliament. Meanwhile the marquis sent messengers to them for a parley, wishing to pacify the country. He was unable, however, to make any impression, so his force retired rapidly by the back side of the town towards Glastonbury, and soon the Parliamentarian volunteers entered the city for the first time to gaze at the place where the Royalists had lodged, and to collect the goodly store of arms which the fugitive soldiers had let fall. From Glastonbury the marquis withdrew to Sherborne, and the city was now openly on the side of the Parliament. It was not, however, to be trusted. There were many in the town suspected of loyalty to King Charles, and on October 4, 1642, Sir Edward Berkeley of Pylle sent word to the corporation that he had heard that the Parliamentary soldiers would again march on Wells to pillage it, so four members of the corporation went off to Sir Edward to plead for a Royalist force to protect the town.

In 1643, Somerset generally was favourable to the Parliament, and our unknown churchman in the Chapter Library notes on the margin of that book he was reading, 'On Saturday, April 7, 1643, the



'CRYPT' IN THE BISHOP'S PALACE

Parliamentary troopers broke down divers pictures and crucifixes in the church, and in our Lady Chapel, likewise did plunder the bishop's palace and broke all such monuments and pictures as they espied, either of religion, antiquity, or the kings of England, and made havoc and sold for little or nothing all the household stuff. One of the captains had a note given unto him of divers of the town and of their estate which were thought to adhere to the king which he warned anewh.' A month later he enters also the following note—'Wednesday, May 10, being

Wells and Glastonbury

Ascension (Eve), Mr. Alexander Popham's soldiers, he being a colonel for the Parliament, after dinner rushed into the church, broke down windows, organs, font, seats in the quire and the bishop's seat besides many other villanies.'

Toward the autumn, however, the Royalist fortunes improved in the country and were on the ascendant all through 1644. On October 8, 1643, Lord Hopton wrote to the corporation, 'I have directed Prince Maurice and his regiment to quarter in your town until further notice.' This was the issue of the rout of the Parliamentary troops at Stamford Hill in Cornwall. Lord Hopton, Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford had joined forces in Somerset and drove the shattered remains of the Parliamentarians through Glastonbury and Wells as far as Chewton Mendip, where they found Waller's army ready to protect them. The Cavalier soldiers, however, pillaged Wells mercilessly and that in spite of all that Lord Hopton could do to protect the citizens, and the town was in their hands from June 11 onwards for the rest of the year. Lord Hopton turned aside to Shepton Mallet and so towards Trowbridge, finding General Waller in the Mendips, and the latter retired to Lansdowne early in July.

On August 13, 1643, it is evident that the king's interest prevailed in Wells, for the corporation records state that Mr. Hasket and Mr. R. Morgan were expelled from the corporation for treason for appearing armed in favour of the Parliamentary army.

In the next year the city expected a visit from Charles I., and on July 17 the mayor wrote to the recorder to ask him if the king came to Wells what he was to do. On July 18, however, the corporation received an equally embarrassing notice in a royal letter from Wells demanding a loan of £500 from the town. Lord Stamford had already borrowed, in 1642, £10 from the city in the name of the king. Prince Maurice was at Wells, and the king's defeat at Marston Moor was causing anxiety to the Royalists. On September 10, 1644, Colonel William West wrote to the mayor from his camp at West Monckton telling him that nearly all the men of his regiment were Wells men. During 1645 both forces must have marched through the city more than once. General Goring had been in Wells during the spring and had left a force here under Lord Hopton. When Goring was defeated at Langport on July 10 by Fairfax he retired on Bridgewater, and after the fall of Bridgewater on July 30 Lord Hopton seems to have feared an attack at Wells and retired to Blagdon on his way to Bristol. General Fairfax, however, seems to have delayed to attack Bristol until his rear was free from attack and marched from Bridgewater to Sherburn, and took it on August 15. Then he marched directly on Bristol and probably some portion of his force passed through Wells. He captured Bristol on September 10, and thenceforward the Parliament side was triumphant and the Royalists in Wells, if any remained, must have kept very quiet. Dean Raleigh, who had only been installed in 1642, had

Incidents in the life of the Citizens

retired towards Bridgewater on Goring's defeat at Langport, and was captured there and placed first as a prisoner in the bishop's manor house at Banwell and afterwards in the Deanery where, owing to the rough treatment he received from his keeper, he died on October 10, 1646. The Chapter Acts Record closes in 1644 and does not begin again until after the Restoration. Dr. Cornelius Burgess was in charge of the 'Upper Church' in Wells and endeavoured to drive a hard bargain with the corporation for the confiscated lands and houses of the bishop. The loyal clergy had all retired from the city, if not in 1643 certainly in 1644 when the ancient services of the Church were proscribed. When the rebel bands of the Duke of Monmouth passed through the city on July 1, 1685, great damage was done not only in the city but also in the cathedral church. On May 4, 1685, the dean and chapter lent £100 to the Duke of Somerset who was in want owing to the desertion of his soldiers, and on July 1 the chapter was adjourned until July 29, because the cathedral church had suffered grievously from the rebel fanatics 'who have this very morning laid hands upon the furniture thereof, have almost destroyed the organ and turned the sacred building into a stable for horses.' On October 7 the dean and chapter repay Mrs. Robert Creighton £20 which she had given to General Sam Story who, when 'the rebels under the Duke of Monmouth lay in the city, threatened, unless he received this sum, to allow his soldiers to pillage the Canons' Houses.

On October 20, £5 was spent on a new silver verge to replace one stolen by the rebels, and £10 was given to the sacrist of the cathedral, James Willes, for his good service in having preserved the ornaments and the plate of the church from the rebels on July 1.

On January 20, 1694, there was a great disturbance in the city among the poor people, owing to the bakers and other shopkeepers refusing to accept the tin farthings offered in payment for goods. The corporation ordered the bakers to be reprimanded and bidden to accept them.

In 1695, William Penn, the Quaker, obtained permission to preach in the Market House, but this permission was afterwards withdrawn. Penn, however, preached in a large room in the Crown Inn, where there is said to have been the incredible number of from two to three thousand hearers. He was afterwards arrested and placed in gaol by the mayor, Matthew Baron, but soon released since he had received a licence to preach from Bishop Kidder.

On December 17, 1689, the mayor received a letter from the Prince of Orange directing the election of members to serve in the new parliament, and Thomas Wyndham and Edward Brockley were elected.

On August 22, 1704, the corporation agreed to meet on September 7 next to take a glass of wine as a rejoicing for the late glorious victory obtained against the French and Bavarians by Her Majesty's forces under the command of the Duke of Marlborough (Battle of Blenheim), and that the bishop

and canons of the cathedral church and other country gentlemen be invited to take part in the same and the receiver (Treasurer) to cause a bonfire to be made consisting of fifty faggots.

In 1706 the butchers are forbidden to kill and cut up carcases of sheep and cattle in the open street before their doors in the centre of the town.

On March 22, 1707, an address is forwarded by the corporation to Queen Anne that the corporation will stand by her with their lives against the pretended Prince of Wales and all his adherents.

In 1709 the Church party were certainly all-powerful, for on November 22 there is the following entry in the corporation records—'whereas at the coronation a copy of a letter from the bishops of Scotland to the bishops of England was read, therein setting forth that since the lamentable suppression of the Apostolic Order of bishops in that kingdom some hundreds of the inferior clergy were turned out of their cures and benefices and thereby reduced with their children and families to great want, and misery, and that the poverty of that nation was such that it was not able to afford them what might be necessary to preserve them from the last extremities, and that unless they were assisted from abroad they did not see by what other means they could be preserved from starving. Upon hearing whereof the house unanimously agree to contribute out of the common public stock £10, and Mr. William Paris the Receiver is to pay that sum to the Rev. John Pope, the Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, to be applied to the use above mentioned.'

The next year, 1710, the burgesses are asked to sign the following declaration on admission to the freedom of the city—I do declare that there lies no obligation on me or on any other person from the oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath and imposed on the subjects of this realm against the common law and liberty of this kingdom.

Incidents in the life of the Citizens

On March 5, 1721, there was a serious disturbance between the corporation and the city companies. The trade companies did not produce their books, but made freemen and admitted through their companies strangers to the franchise of the borough. The mayor therefore gave out that he would prosecute the leaders. This annoyed the people, and they in great numbers ran up and down the streets with clubs in their hands, headed by persons of distinction, almost every night, huzzaing and crying, 'Down with the byelaws,' and that in so tumultuous a manner that the mayor's officers were afraid to venture their suppression. They huzzaed also at the mayor's door, crying out as if they intended to beat his house down, and actually broke in the glass of his windows and he was afraid of stirring out of his house by night without a guard—poor Mr. Joseph Luffe!

On August 11, 1727, the assizes were held in the city for the first time, and Sir Thomas Pengelly, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of the Exchequer, came as Judge.

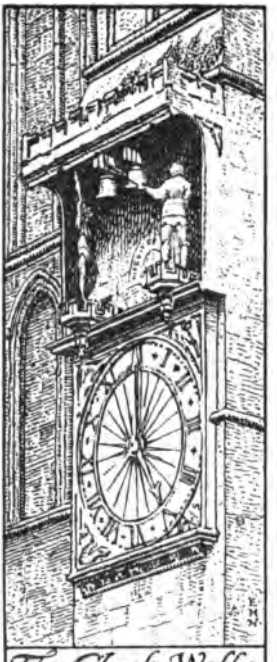
On October 23, 1745, a humble address was sent

up to the king, George II., to congratulate him on his safe and happy return to these his dominions, declaring their detestation of the rebellion in Scotland in favour of a popish pretender, and expressing their satisfaction in the unanimity and zeal, the ardour and affection which had so seasonably appeared amongst all ranks and degrees of people in this kingdom for his Majesty's royal person, his family and his government.

The next year a fire took place in the city and the prison was burnt down, and arrangements had to be made for the rebuilding of the prison and of a chamber adjoining, known as the burgesses's chamber, 15′ × 14′.

In 1753 the final struggle took place between the corporation and the trade guilds. At first it was the existence and fellowship of the trade guilds which created the convocation of burgesses out of which the city corporation was evolved. Now the corporation cut away this ancient connection, and its independence and superior authority, whether legal or not, was not resisted, and so the guilds pass out of notice as an integral portion of the corporate life of the city. Since the struggle extended over several years it will be well to bring the notices together, and certainly the action of the city was the result of political parties, members of the guilds favouring at times politicians hostile to the views of the corporation.

On March 12, 1753, the seven trading companies of the city were summoned to produce the rules and orders of their seven respective companies. Mr.


The Clock: Wells.

John Ball and Mr. Philip Strode appeared for the stockingmakers, and said they had neither orders or book, and that the company was, and had been, managed for many years past under no rule of government, and they petitioned the corporation to grant them relief and give them some new rules. These were ordered to be drawn up by the recorder, and a new set of members was put into the company. A similar order had been made in 1592 for the tailors' guilds, and given by the town to Mr. W. West, the new master of the craft. The hammermen or blacksmiths and the goldsmiths at first disregarded this summons, and did not comply until a threat of prosecution was sent to them. The corporation had heard that the trading companies admitted to one guild those who belonged to another, and they ordered the masters and wardens in future to make no admissions into the guilds until the applicants had obtained permission of the mayor and burgesses in convocation assembled. This order had some precedent behind it

for, in 1712, Mr. Wm. Willcox, master of the cordwainers, asked permission of the corporation to admit three new members into his guild. A breach of this rule was to be punished by a fine of £20. Then the corporation discovers that Mr. James Short, the chief master of the butchers, had admitted three members into the company without the consent of the corporation. What then was to be done to him? The corporation was at a loss as to what could be done, and as usual referred the matter to the recorder, with whom it remained for ever. There was also clearly a question as to the place where these assemblies were to be held. Was it to be in the Almshouse Hall, which was the usual place for holding the general convocations of the burgesses and swearing them in, or was it to be in the common Council House, up the steps in the Market Place? Rival influences supported both views, and certainly the guilds had ancient custom on their side. In 1761, on September 22, being Coronation Day of George III., the woolcombers were conspicuous for the splendid show which they had made in the procession of the mayor, corporation, and trade guilds for the service in the cathedral, and a grant of four guineas was made to them out of the funds of the corporation.

Four years afterwards, on November 1, 1765, on the eve of a general election, John Moss, John Hodges, John Porche, John Ball, Philip Stride, and James Mills claimed, as masters of trading guilds in the city, residing in the town, and freemen, to be admitted as burgesses, but the corporation refused their application, and since this decision was not con-

tested the guilds gradually disappeared from the corporate life of the city.

Incidents in the life of the Citizens

In 1753 the Convocation Books were delivered to the recorder for his advice as to the conflicting rights and duties of the corporation and the bailiff of the markets. The point was unimportant, but showed that the independence which the town had striven for was still incomplete. This, however, came to an end in 1779. In 1772 the city purchased the lease of the bailiwick of Wells Forum from Mr. Whalley who held it on three lives from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and in 1778, when the corporation was engaged in the purchase of the prebendal house of the Archdeacon of Wells for a site for the new Townhall, it was arranged that they should purchase the fee simple of the bailiwick from the bishop, and power was obtained by an Act of Parliament. So on January 12, 1779, the last remnant of the bishop's jurisdiction came to an end, and the burghers of Wells were free.

On May 28, 1754, a new silver seal was given to the corporation by Mr. Joyce, a burgess, and in that same year, owing to the increase in the number of vagrants, and because the town was infested by female beggars, Edward Austin was appointed beadle to whip the beggars and drive them out of the town.

In 1763 a new set of standard weights for the use of the citizens was purchased, from half cwt. to a dram, at a cost of £10, 5s. 7d.

In 1767 there was a public perambulation of the boundaries of the borough, the first since 1734, and several boundary stones were missed and ordered to be

replaced with new ones. This same year we have the first entry of the purchase of a ticket for the State Lottery.

In 1754 it was agreed to 'compliment' the right honourable Mr. Secretary Pitt and the right honourable Henry Billson Legge with the freedom of the city, as an acknowledgement of their unwearied endeavours and their uncommon zeal which they had shown to their king and country during their disinterested and honest administration. Mr. Pitt had accepted the office of paymaster to the forces, and Mr. Legge was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the new ministry of the Duke of Newcastle, but Mr. Pitt retired in 1755.

In 1767 the price of corn was so high that wheat, imported to Bristol, was ordered to be bought and brought to Wells, the corporation paying the carriage.

In 1789 an address was sent up from the town to George III., congratulating him on his recovery, and on October 16 of that year it was ordered that stalls might be erected on the site of the old High Cross for the sale of fish and vegetables.

In 1803, during the alarm caused by the war with France, rules and regulations were drawn up for the organisation of the somewhat lax body of gentlemen and yeomanry cavalry belonging to Wells, and since these were resented, the committee, taking into consideration the disgrace that must fall on the corps by the members withdrawing from the troop at this alarming crisis, imposed a fine of £30 on any member retiring.

In 1833 the town is reported as waning. The silk trade had been given up, but there was still one large stocking factory, and the cheese market was reputed to be the largest in the west of England, and during the previous decade the population had risen from 5888 in 1821 to 6649 in 1831. There were five fairs in the town, and two others, chiefly for the sale of horses, had been transferred to Priddy and Binegar. The new market house, lately abolished and turned into the post office, was built in 1836, and the union workhouse in 1837. The Wesleyan chapel, on the site of the old chapel of Thomas à Becket, was built in 1838. The building, now altered into St. Cuthbert's church room, was in the time of George the Third the town theatre, and the celebrated actor Elliston is said to have acted in it. This was afterwards transformed into the chapel of the Irvingite congregation which lasted for some years during the early period of Queen Victoria's reign.

Incidents in the life of the Citizens

Royal visits are certainly epochs in the life of a small town, and for Wells, in that it did not lie on any of the great main thoroughfares of the country, such visits were rare.

In 1278 Edward the First passed through Wells on his way from Glastonbury to Bruton, and slept in the city, and probably at the Palace, on Thursday and Friday nights, April 21 and 22. In 1330 Edward the Third kept Christmas in Wells, staying at the Palace, while the bishop, R. de Salopia, retired to Wookey that there might be room in his house in Wells for the king and his court. He came here on

Christmas Eve and left the city on the festival of the Epiphany, January 6.

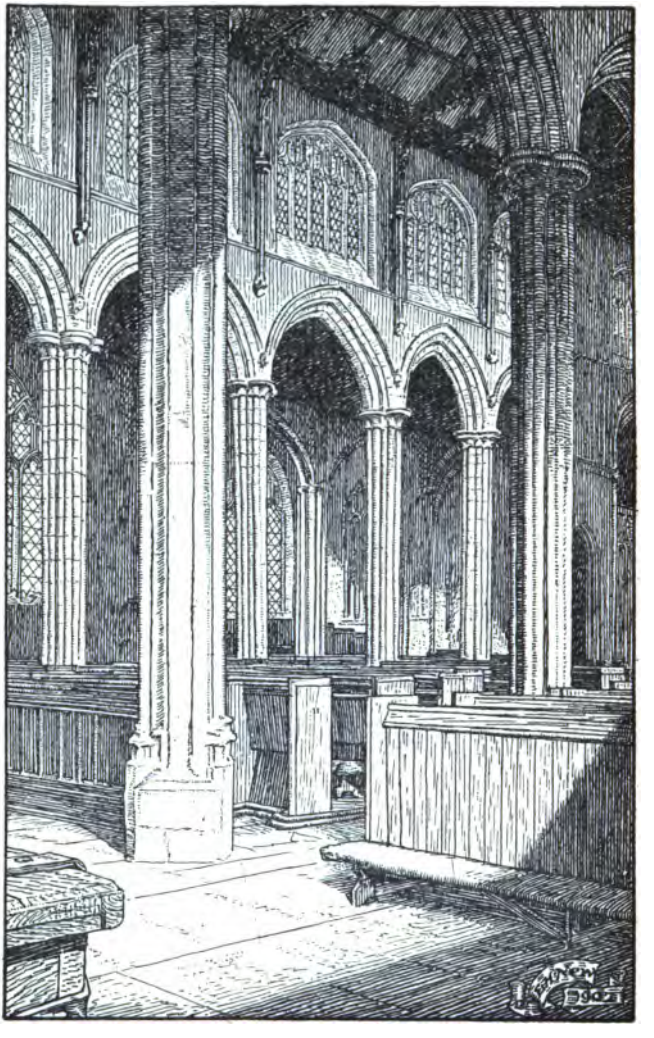
In 1408 there is evidence that Henry the Fourth spent a night here, for though no local documents tell us of the fact, on September 16 of that year he issued a patent from Wells.

In 1469 Edward the Fourth apparently passed through Wells. The chapter receipts for that year record the fact that he offered 10s., and the Duke of Clarence 5s., and the Duchess of Clarence 5s., and the Earl of Berwick 5d. in the dean's chapel, and there is strong ground for believing that the king was here reconciled to his enemy the Duke of Clarence, the offering being a thankoffering for friendship renewed.

On September 30, 1497, Henry the Seventh spent a night at the Deanery, just enlarged and restored by Dean Gunthorpe, and Bishop Oliver King, who had just then made his first visit to his cathedral city, introduced to him the mayor and burgesses. In 1613 Queen Anne, the consort of James First, in her tour of the west of England, paid a visit to Wells. On August 20, 1613, Bishop Montague wrote to inform the mayor of her approach, and desired that a silver bowl, worth about £20, should be given to her majestie, and the streets made handsome, and the town rid of beggars and rogues. The mayor and burgesses thereupon took steps to prepare for the visit. The streets were ordered to be pitched, especially Sadler Street, and the mayor and brethren waited for her majesty in their scarlet gowns at Brown's,

or Baron's Gate, now called the Dean's Eye. The city companies turned out in six groups, viz. the smiths or hammermen, the tuckers or sheermen, the tanners, chandlers and butchers, the cordwainers, the tailors, and the mercers. The show was like a Lord Mayor's show of the present time and ended up with a feast given by the mayor, Mr. William Bull, at the Swan Inn. The company present consisted of the Earl of Tynemouth, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Sir Thomas Somersett, the Countess of Darbie, Ladies Cary, Gray, Windsor, Hatton, Walsingham, and four maids of honour.

Incidents in the life of the Citizens



ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH—INTERIOR

CHAPTER VII

ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH AND ST. THOMAS CHURCH

NEXT to the Cathedral Church comes the parish church of St. Cuthbert, a church of great dignity and beauty, whose truly majestic tower cannot but attract the notice of the visitor as he makes his way from the railway station to the centre of the town. Its origin is unknown, and its dedication to a northern saint is perplexing and difficult to account for. Perhaps it is due to the cult of St. Cuthbert, so much in favour with King Alfred the Great, a cult which became more popular in the tenth century, when so many relics of Northumbrian saints were brought for safety to Glastonbury. The dedication, therefore, if it was always the principal dedication of the church, suggests a date for the foundation, though it was probably built about the time when the bishop granted to his tenants, whose modest homes clustered round his manor house and his cathedral church, the privilege of burgage tenure. There certainly, however, was a church here in the twelfth century, for some few years ago a fragment of a Norman pillar

piscina was discovered, the most ancient relic of the church which we possess, and Bishop Godfrey endowed the church with half a hide of land when he dedicated it (1123-1135) after the Saxon Church had been reconstructed. Except the fragment mentioned already, no monumental evidence exists to carry us back into earlier times. What we look upon to-day is the foundation of a thirteenth-century church, enlarged and recast in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Externally the church is almost wholly perpendicular in style. In 1240 Bishop Jocelyn gave the advowson of the church to the dean and chapter. He had just completed his beautiful façade at the west end of the Cathedral Church, and it is probable that under his instigation and with his help the parishioners had rebuilt their church in the Early English style when the benefice was conferred on the canons of Wells. The church seems to have had a permanent vicar rather earlier than the majority of churches in Somerset. In 1239 Robert Gyffard, the parochial priest, was assigned a fixed portion of the tithes of the parish, and he is referred to as perpetual vicar, and in 1262 Canon Richard de Bamfield gave his house over against St. Cuthbert's Church to the vicar of St. Cuthbert's, for ever. There is a reference also in 1320 to the perpetual vicar of the church.

When, however, we examine the interior of the church, it is possible to make out, with the help of a few notices among the records of the dean and chapter and of the corporation, a fairly complete story of the building in the process of change and

enlargement through which it has passed. When we look at the piers that support the present chancel arch and also the eastern window in the south transept, round which was built in later times the niches of the beautiful Jesse tree, it is evident that the earlier church was cruciform in shape, and had a central tower or spire rising above the junction of the nave, chancel, and transepts. This earlier church was also shorter by one bay than the present nave, as can be seen when we examine the base and capitals of the westernmost piers of the nave. The south porch, and the door opposite, which leads into the treasury, is also earlier than the present building, and seem to prove that this earlier church, the church which Jocelyn gave to the dean and chapter, had also north and south aisles to the nave. At the west of the nave there was probably a door with a window over it, and on either side of the window three niches and heraldic shields of the Palton family which can now be seen built into the western wall of the great tower. Then came a long and important period of enlargement and rebuilding extending from the time of Edward III. almost to the time of Henry VII., about which we cannot say exactly what was done or what changes of plans may have occurred as the improvements succeeded one another. The chancel was reroofed and possibly rebuilt, about 1343, and probably about the same time the chapel was built between the north transept and the treasury, which is known as the chapel of the Holy Trinity. It was the guild chapel of the confraternity of merchants of

St. Cuthbert's Church

the town, and is frequently mentioned in local wills and in the corporation records, being kept in repair by the town and in constant receipt of benefactions from the citizens. The chapel, which occupies a similar position on the south side between the transept and the porch, is probably coeval. It was known at first as the chapel of St. Cuthbert, and in later times on account of the members of these families being buried there, as the Edward and Leigh Chapel. The great west tower followed soon after, and was built some twelve feet west of the then western wall of the nave. The work on it was going on certainly between 1410 and 1430, and in 1426 the town paid for the carriage of the stones which the bishop had given towards the erection of the tower, and in the inventory of church goods made in 1431 the churchwardens acknowledged the receipt of two rings, one of them gold, given for the work upon the new tower. It is evident also from the high-pitched weather course on the eastern side of the tower that the intention was to continue the eastern church to meet the tower, retaining the original pitch of the roof. This gives us then a date for the recasting of the church in the perpendicular style. It could not have taken place much earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, and probably was going on all through the last half of that century. What this work actually was can only be stated generally. The walls of the north and south transepts of the earlier church were left intact, except that they were raised in height. The walls of the chancel and north and

ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH

south aisles of the nave were probably rebuilt and the height was greatly increased to allow of the insertion of the much loftier perpendicular windows. In the nave the older tower with its lower arches was left standing, but both the chancel and nave and aisle were raised in height, and the old bases and piers and capitals were used again, the shafts being increased by several feet to allow of the flat roof of the nave aisle. Above the nave arches rose the large windows of the clerestory

with the flat roof which we now see and the flat timber ceiling, its carved figures, angels, and shields which we now so greatly admire. Certainly in 1447-8 Thomas Sholere granted all the stone lying in the cemetery of the parish church of St. Cuthbert for the restoration and for the new building of the said church. In 1481 the dean and chapter as patrons paid for the new roof which had just been put upon the chancel.

So with its lofty windows and its two towers and flat roof, the church remained the pride and admiration of the townsfolk of Wells for some sixty or seventy years. From time to time in the city records notices occur concerning it and the elections of the warden, and in 1483 Mr. Richard Burnell brought into the convocation of the burgesses a book containing a life of St. George given by Mr. Richard King, and this was handed over to the custody of the churchwardens of St. Cuthbert.

In 1547, when chantries and mortuary chapels and obits and endowed masses were abolished by Act of Parliament, the Turner Chantry was valued at £3, 6s. 8d., and John Turner was the endowed chaplain. It there appears that two stipendiary priests, celebrating in the church of St. Cuthbert, were paid yearly £11, 6s. 8d. out of the devotion of the mayor and commonalty. One of these priests served probably at the Trinity Chapel and the other at the Lady Altar in the south transept. The priest serving at the Lady Altar had a house in Priest's Row. There was also an endowed obit worth £4, 1s. 4d.,

and there were reported in 1547 to be two thousand communicants, or, as they were then called, 'Partakers of the Lordes Holy Supper' in the parish.

In 1553, 'when Master Llewellen was master,' Queen Mary granted to the master and burgesses of the city of Wells an annual rent of 6s. 8d. issuing out of several houses of the corporation, and also 4d. and a house in Chamberlain Street, provided the corporation did find a discreet presbyter to assist the vicar of the lower church. The burgesses in guild had for long provided a priest to serve at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the stipend of one mark yearly, and the appointment to it of Stephen Lucas is noted in 1403.

In the year above mentioned, the first of Queen Mary, Thomas Lygh was sent to gaol for coming into the church of St. Cuthbert and saying to the priest just after the second lesson at mattins, '"What the devil have we here? are you going to set up idolatry again?" he seeing the picture of a cross and two candlesticks with two tapers in them on the high altar, and he was also complained of to the queen's majesty by a particular address for that purpose.' About this time, though the exact date is not mentioned, a serious disaster occurred to the church. The new perpendicular work had probably been built into the fabric of the central tower in such a way as structurally to weaken it. However, in 1561-2 the fall of the tower is mentioned in a corporation minute which records the efforts made by the town for the repair of the damage. The memorandum runs—that

this time there is appointed a collection by the Master of the town for the new making and setting up of the church where the steeple did stand, and they, who be undernamed and written, be appointed collectors of the same. So Mr. William Linge and Mr. William Smith collected in High Street and received £38, 11s., Mr. Christopher White and Mr. Thomas Ludwell visited Chamberlain Street and got £4, 3s. 8d., Mr. Edward Egill and Mr. Nicholas Justinge took Sadler Street and collected £6, 4s. 8d., while Southover was assigned to Mr. Thomas Isaacke and Mr. Robert Thicke, who obtained £6, 6s. 4d.—£55, 5s. 8d., a large sum for the first effort to meet these costly repairs, and evidence of the esteem and love which the citizens had for their beautiful church. When the repairs were undertaken it is clear that, while they used as much of the old material as was available, they carried out a very wise and courageous plan. The central tower with its low arches into the nave, chancel, and transepts, must have greatly blocked the view and destroyed the general effect of the proportions and height of the late perpendicular work, and the opportunity now came to alter this. The chancel arch was raised and the whole of the space under the tower was thrown into the nave. So the western arch, if it had not been destroyed by the fall of the tower, was taken down and the clerestory wall carried on eastward to meet the chancel arch. A new bay on both sides was added eastward to the nave, the arches of which led us into the north and south transepts, and above these arches clerestory windows

were inserted to match those already in the nave, while the window above the chancel arch may have taken the place of an earlier window into the lantern of the tower.

We must now enter the church and try to see what was in it before this great change which the disaster of 1560 brought about.

In (1401-2) Thomas Tanner, a citizen of Wells, founded a chantry in the Lady Chapel and desired to be buried beneath the south window of the south transept. At the last restoration a tablet was discovered in the wall above his tomb, with the inscription: 'Anniversare Thomæ Tannere est in festo sanctæ Katerine.' This was the Lady Chapel in the south transept, but indeed the altars in both transepts were dedicated B.V. Mary, and were especially the object of numerous offerings, both of the men and women of Wells. The beautiful reredos in the north transept, with its two rows of niches, five in each row, was probably inserted in the first half of the fifteenth century. There is no record of its building and nothing was known of it until at the restoration in 1848 the then churchwarden, Mr. Henry Powell, a keen archæologian and devoted lover of the church, discovered it behind the plaster which had hidden it from view. It was completely mutilated, but some of the figures carefully stored at the south-west of the church evidently came from these niches, and we give a picture of one, a countryman with a flail kneeling by the side of his patron saint. The beautiful Jesse tree on the opposite side was built by the corporation in 1470, and the indenture for its erection is entered

FRAGMENT OF REREDOS IN ST. CUTHBERT'S CHURCH

in the corporation minutes. It cost £40, and the mason who carved it was John Stowell of Wells. It contained three rows of niches, two rows of three and two on either side of the window, and above the window a row of nine niches.

Nor was the chapel of the merchants' guild neglected. It was covered with painting, and some sixty years ago there was still to be seen on its walls a painting of our Lord, life size, dressed in a russet brown garment and a red cloak on His shoulders, holding in His left hand an orb surmounted with a cross, and on the wall on either side was produced the legend, 'IHS. *mrcy*,' and below the words *Salvator mundi*. The church was also divided across from transept to transept by a rood screen with a large figure of our Lord on the cross, the Virgin and St. John above it.

In the ancient inventories of the church of 1403 and 1489 recorded in the corporation records notices

occur of sixteen altars, and an account is given of the vessels and ornaments belonging to each altar. Perhaps some of the dedications were double ones, and if so this would reduce the number of altars. The altars are referred to as of St. Mary, St. James, Holy Trinity, St. John, St. Katharine, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Michael, St. Cuthbert, St. George, St. Ann, St. Saviour, St. Nicholas, Holy Cross, St. Ethelred, and St. Erasmus. St. Cuthbert's Church

It is difficult to locate all these altars, though by means of various bequests in the wills of Wells people we know where some of them were. There were two altars to our Lady in the north and south transepts, and west of them were the two chapels of Holy Trinity on the north, and St. Cuthbert on the south. There were altars also on the eastern walls of the choir aisles. The altar to St. Erasmus was near the entrance to the Trinity Chapel, for John Tyler in 1512 wished to be buried there, and there were altars on either side of the screen below the rood, the one on the north was that of the Holy Cross, referred to as in the nave by John Horewoode in 1416, and also by John Hochyn in 1482, and on the south side that of our Saviour, which is possibly the same as the chapel of Jesus mentioned in his will by Nicholas Trapp in 1557, and by Alice Trapp in 1559. John Welshote in 1519 desires to be buried as near as possible to the altar of St. Katharine, and in 1526 the chapel of St. George is mentioned in the will of William Frampton.

In the north aisle of the nave, immediately opposite to the south porch, is a chamber which has

long been called the Treasury. It belongs to the earlier church, or at least to the church before the great alterations made in the fifteenth century. It seems to have been the special care of the tradesmen's guild, and afterwards was used by the corporation as a strong room. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth and in the seventeenth century the arms, which the corporation was bound to keep in readiness, were stored here, and in the reign of King James I. the gunpowder was kept here. On September 24, 1621, an inventory was made by order of the corporation, and it was reported that in the church, where the powder doth lie, there are five barrels of powder which have one cwt. of powder in each, and one other barrel with 26 lbs. of powder in it. In 1625, in return to the Royal Order concerning arms and ammunition, Vertue Hunt, the mayor, certifies the arms and 524 lbs. of gunpowder. In 1636 a new pulpit was provided, the date-plate of which, and a great part of the original, still exists.

In an inventory of church goods existing in the church, January 27, 1648, to October 22, 1649, certified as delivered to them by the preceding churchwardens, Henry Webster and Thomas Buxton report that there were two silver flagons, one gilt bowl with a cover, one plate given by Cornelius Watts, four pewter flagons, three saucers, one beaker, one diaper cloth given by Mr. Ball for to cover the communion table, one branched tablecloth and a plain tablecloth with tawny fringe, one pulpit cloth and cushion, two cushions in Mr. Oliver's seat, two old cushions in the

vestry, two chests there and a little coffer, four old Prayer Books called Common Prayer Books, six forms to serve in the chancel for the communion. In the store house an old organ-case, two pairs of bellows, three great chests and a press. In the tower five bells and a cable rope, in the church house three table boards, four forms, and the benches round about. A Bible, given by Mr. Barkham, and 'one other great Bible, a new font and the post to it, and eleven iron bars belonging to Mr. Luellin's tomb.'

St. Cuthbert's Church

In 1654, on October 24, a memorandum of the churchwardens' records, that as John Jenkins was possessed of a seat in the alley going into the church (*i.e.* south aisle) at the great door, being a seat on the bench joining to the pillar where Bishop Jewell's book formerly was and now is placed, and, for the convenience of the placing of the said book, the said John Jenkins has given his consent to receive, in lieu of his seat, a seat over against it in the same alley.

On January 16, 1655, they record some interesting information concerning the church library. The churchwardens break up their old chests with which to make shelves for the library, and we are astonished to find that there are 226 volumes in the library, and two indexes are made, and one left in the library and the other kept by the town clerk, Mr. John Grandison.

In an inventory, made November 3, 1659, it is found that there are 187 books reckoned shelf by shelf.

On November 11, 1661, the year after the Restora-

tion, Bishop Jewell's book is reported as under the old pulpit, and there are two books of martyrs, given by Mr. Augustus Jefferies—one of these existed in 1875 and is referred to in his book on St. Cuthbert's by the late Mr. T. Serel—and a new desk with chains to which they are fastened, one book of Homilies and three books of christenings, weddings, and burials, and it is recorded also that the books remaining in the vestry were fetched away by Mr. Chancellor Holt's order as appertaining of right to the cathedral aforesaid, and were delivered by Mr. Chetwynd and the then churchwardens, May 14, 1661.

In 1664 it is reported that the new Bible, which was given by Mr. Barkham, had been stolen out of the church, and a new Bible had been bought by Mr. Thomas Smith.

In 1718 a new organ was given to the church by Dr. Robert Creyghton, Canon and Precentor of Wells, and himself one of the leading musicians of his day, and the mayor and town council, on March 13, return him thanks for his good intention to the parish and thoroughly approve of his proposal.

During the eighteenth century there are very few records of work having been done, but towards the very end and during the first decade of the nineteenth century considerable sums were expended in repairs, not only of the churchyard, which had been enlarged by the addition of the site of the old Wells poor-house and its garden, but also in the church itself. The chancel was then thoroughly classicised, and the altar screen, *i.e.* the screen behind the altar, blocking

out the east window was built, which is thus described by the antiquarian Phelps in 1836: the altar screen is of oak, in panels having a rich entablature supported by four Corinthian-fluted columns. Over the pediment is an urn and on each side a candlestick, all richly gilt, with bunches of grapes and wheat-ears entertwined, and over all a Glory with cherubim. The cipher R. B. with mitre at the east end probably refers to Bishop Richard Beadon (1802-1824).

In 1813 seats were placed for the first time in the church for the children of the charity schools.

The church had for many years possessed a fire-engine and buckets, and in 1817 new regulations were issued and twelve persons were appointed to look after it and were assigned one guinea each a year.

In 1820 the organ given by Canon Creyghton is described as completely worn out, and subscriptions were collected and a gallery was built in the west against the tower arch, and an organ was placed there by Mr. Lincoln Holborn of London at a cost of £520. The city authorities contributed forty guineas towards it.

In 1847-9, during the two years when Mr. Henry Powell was churchwarden, considerable repairs were undertaken and the remnants of the two reredoses in the north and south transepts were thoroughly exposed and the carved figures, which were discovered beneath the plaster, were carefully stored at the west end.

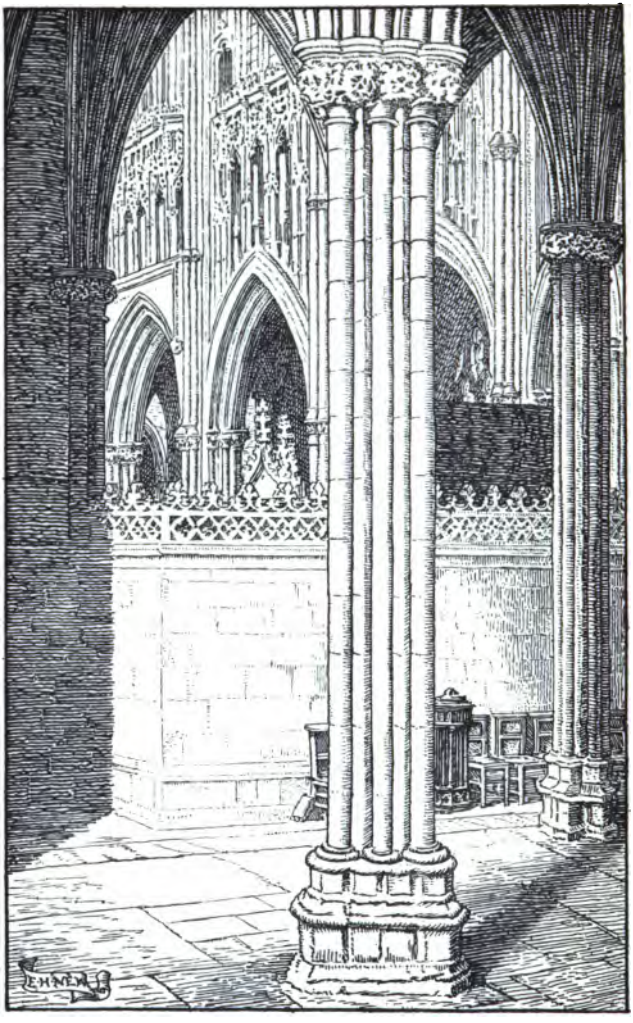
In 1863 the organ at the west end was found so

dilapidated that it was taken down, and with it the gallery on which it had been placed, and a new organ built in the north choir-aisle at a cost of £363. Meanwhile considerable alterations were made in the classical chancel and the old screen was taken away, and in 1867 the present reredos was unveiled, the gift of the freemasons of the city and neighbourhood.

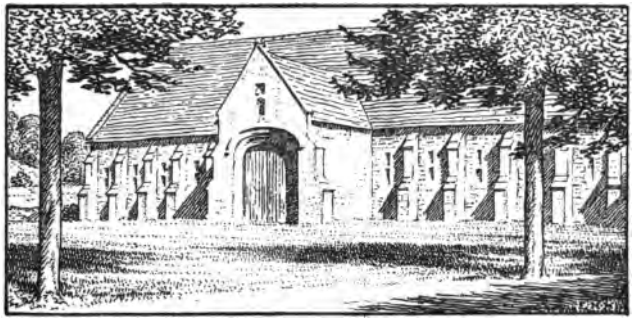
The eastern portions of the town of Wells, with the houses that stretched out towards Horrington and beyond the limits of the in-parish of St. Cuthbert, were cut off from the parish church by the Liberty of St. Andrew, and all the buildings attached to the cathedral church of St. Andrew. The people who dwelt there were mostly poor and not such as could appreciate the more majestic services in the cathedral. They would go to their parish church or they would not go anywhere, and often as not they stayed away. In the religious revival of the middle of the nineteenth century the spiritual condition of this part of the town was not overlooked, and efforts were made to create a more satisfactory state of religion and morals there. When, in 1845, Dr. Jenkins was appointed Dean of Wells, he determined to devote such time as he could to pastoral work in East Wells, and soon formed plans for the erection of a church for the accommodation of the people living there. He died, however, in 1854 before he had accomplished his wish, and his widow determined soon after to carry out her husband's desires. On March 6, 1856, the foundation stone of St. Thomas Church was laid and the building was consecrated

on St. Thomas's Day 1857. Mrs. Jenkins also gave largely to the endowment of the vicarage, and an ecclesiastical district was formally assigned to this new church by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on April 6, 1858. The Rev. George Blisset was the first vicar, and during the time he acted as incumbent he gave largely for the further adequate endowment of the vicarage, and, in 1864, built the south aisle, since the church was already becoming too small for the increasing population of the district. The church stands well and is a conspicuous object, having a central tower and spire which architecturally has certain claims to be regarded as elegant and good. The choir is terminated eastward by an apsidal sanctuary, lofty and well-proportioned, and the church is certainly capacious and well built, but, amid so much of ancient beauty in the city, it will not for long detain the visitor.

St. Thomas Church



THE CHOIR FROM THE RETRO-CHOIR



THE BISHOP'S BARN

CHAPTER VIII

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN, THE ALMSHOUSES AND ANCIENT BUILDINGS

IN mediæval England, when inns could hardly be said to have existed, the church was careful to show hospitality to all who were obliged to travel. It is evident also that there was a good deal of movement, pilgrims on their way to some distant shrine of note, agents and messengers going to and fro from distant granges to the monastery, chapmen with goods to sell or in search of goods which were required. And all these, good or bad, rich or poor, clean or unclean, claimed the hospitality of the church and were seldom refused it. Now the large monasteries had many chambers, and the abbot's lodgings were large and commodious, and so in some distant part

Wells and Glastonbury

of the monastery or in the more honourable guest rooms of the abbot, means were found to help all who passed along. Bishops, however, though they had several manor houses, had not this ample accommodation, and very early in the thirteenth century, if not in the twelfth, we find in every cathedral city, that is to say near every bishop's principal manor house, buildings that were called hospitals. These hospitals were for the good of the poorer and less desirable wayfarers. The hospital in its foundation is usually for certain men or women, brethren or sisters, with chapel and chambers and gardens. The brethren were to serve the travellers, to nurse the sick or those who fell ill while under their roof, and to care for the aged whom they had among them. As in other places so in Wells we find such a hospital dedicated to St. John the Baptist and described as of the order of St. Augustine. This latter title referred only to the rule of life which the brethren of the hospital had to observe. The hospital was founded by the munificence of two Wells men, Hugh de Wells, Archdeacon of Wells (1204-1209), and Bishop of Lincoln (1209-1235); and his brother, Jocelyn de Wells, Bishop of Bath (1206-1242). Bishop Jocelyn had concluded in 1219 his great controversy with Glastonbury, and as a native of Wells preferred it to the larger city of Bath. The hospital was founded before 1231 for in that year Thomas, the prior of Bath, confirmed to this hospital the gift by Jocelyn of the advowson of Evercreech with the chapelry of Chesterblade. It was probably founded therefore

between the years 1220 and 1230. The original family consisted of a prior or master and ten brethren. Bishop Hugh was the founder and Bishop Jocelyn the first benefactor, and the first endowment consisted of the wardship of Tunring and of Crombwell and lands at Keinton Mandeville and Babcary. In 1260 Canon John Odeline endowed it with five marks a year. The first master was prior Peter, whose name occurs in a document among the chapter records, by which he binds himself not to interfere with the rights of the bishop's mills. He had erected a mill for the hospital at Hilemore and hence the anxiety.

The Hospital of St. John

We know more, however, of the history of the hospital than of the hospital itself. It has been almost entirely destroyed, and all that can be seen is the gable end of a building by the north side of the small stream behind the corner shop at the junction of John's Street and Priory Road. Priory Road probably accounts for the disappearance of much of the hospital buildings, and in 1812 Mr. Peter Sherston granted the southern part of the site for the erection of the central school. This elementary school was the result of an effort towards the education of the poor made by Bishop Beadon, and Wells was chosen for the school which should be 'central' in the diocese. As late, however, as in 1858 a fourteenth-century house existed which was clearly part of the hospital, and this seems to have been given by Mr. J. D. Sherston for the enlargement of the central schools, and hence its disappearance. A portion of the buildings was also used as a woolcomber's shop.

Wells and Glastonbury

When we turn to the history of the hospital we can see how it was that the hospital was suppressed in 1539. The existence of a chapel and at least one priest, though probably there were more, was evidence which could not be overlooked with the opinions which then prevailed. It was of the nature of a chantry chapel. About the year 1270 Richard Bytton, canon and precentor of Wells and brother of William Bytton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, founded a chantry in the chapel where at the altar of St. John prayers should be offered for his soul and for that of his brother, and the prior William binds the house to perform that task. In 1314 Canon John de Wyk founds another chantry for his own benefit, and in 1326 Bishop Drokensford ratifies the foundation of a chantry of St. Nicholas in the chapel of the priory for the soul of William de la Wythy, late burgess of Wells. This citizen had given to the hospital five houses and parcels of land in the borough, and eight acres of land elsewhere in the town. And in 1350 Bishop Ralph de Salopia founds another chantry here from the funds which Canon William de Littelton and William de Bourwardsleye had given him. It is interesting to notice that the bishop did not forget his native place, but specifies that among others the priory should pray for the soul of William, formerly Abbot of Shrewsbury.

The hospital, however, was ill endowed, and in 1323 the brethren appealed to Bishop Drokensford to grant them authority to elect a prior, and at the same time to pity their poverty. In other words

they asked for the licence without being compelled to pay the usual fees for it. In 1439 there were only two brethren and a prior, and on the death of the prior Bishop Stafford was called in to select a prior from another hospital, and so again in 1445, but in 1462 we find five brethren. The hospital, owing to these gifts and endowments which were given as endowments for prayers and masses on behalf of those who had passed away, came under the act for the dissolution of chantries, and had the brethren not been classed with the monks, though they certainly were not monks, their house would not have fallen under the Chantry Act. But in February 3, 1539, the house was surrendered to Henry VIII., and the lands were given to Bishop Clerk in exchange for the manor of Dogmersfield in Hants. In 1548 Bishop Barlowe surrendered it to the crown, and in 1574 Queen Elizabeth granted the site and all the buildings upon it to Sir Christopher Hatton. From him they passed to Sir William Dodington, and through the Godwin, Nuttley and Davis families to the Sherstons. The following list of priors has only the merit of being fuller than its predecessors. Prior Peter, 1228. Prior John, 1292. Prior Walter, 1323. Philip de Eston, 1323. Henry de Exton, 1348. John Typpe, 1409. John Bartlett, 1410. Nicholas Cousin, 1439. Thomas Yle, 1445. John Tinensis Eps., 1462. Thomas Cornish Eps. Tinensis, 1483. Reginald ap David, 1487. John Marler, 1500. Richard Smith died, 1524. John Bartram, 1524. John Pynnock, 1535, and Richard Clarkson who

surrendered in 1539 and received a pension of £12.

The hospital of St. John was for the convenience of travellers who should visit Wells. For the poor and decayed citizen no provision was as yet made. The family relationship was strong enough to ensure that they did not suffer. But two centuries after the founding of St. John's hospital the first almshouse for aged and decayed citizens was built in Wells. It was the benefaction of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells. It is at the western end of Chamberlain Street in the portion which used to be known as Beggar Street, and it is still mainly a mediæval building. The design was common at the time, and consisted of a chapel at the east end and a hall at the west, and chambers between on either side of a mid walk, the chambers being open above, and one roof sheltering chapel, chambers, and hall. The men would thus be able to hear the office said in the chapel if one lay ill in his chamber, and moreover they would have that fresh air and better ventilation which, whether they liked it or not, was good for them. It is evident, however, that this usual design was altered on the western side, and a large hall was placed on the first storey above the row of chambers on the ground floor. In later times also a storey was added over the other chambers in the centre of the building though under the original roof. This upper chamber or hall at the west was for three centuries the Guildhall of the city. Bishop Bubwith died on October 27, 1424. The indenture for the

THE BUBWITH ALMSHOUSES

building is dated September 29, 1436, between John Forrest, dean of Wells, and John Colles, master of the commonalty of Wells and all the commonalty. It was to be built between the churchyard of St. Cuthbert and Beggar Street, and to contain twelve separate habitations for poor men and women of the burgesses of the city. The patronage was vested in the dean and chapter and master and commonalty, the dean and chapter having one nomination and the town having two when vacancies among the inmates occurred.

Wells and Glastonbury

In 1466 William Gascoigne of Wells bequeathed lands at North Newton for the endowment of a chaplain who should minister to the aged people in the house and say masses for his soul and the souls of Richard Burton and William Gascoigne of Bridgewater. The statutes of the hospital were drawn up on July 24, 1454, by Nicholas Carent, dean of Wells, and sanctioned by Archbishop Stafford, formerly Bishop of Bath and Wells. In these ancient statutes the duties of the chaplain and the inmates are specifically laid down, and reference is made to a common chest with three locks and keys, to be kept by the master of the city, the chaplain of the house, and the chapter of Wells, and for the first time the oath of the poor men on admission is drawn up. In 1536 John Leland, the antiquary, notices this almshouse, and calls it the Brigg Street hospital for twenty-four poor men and women at the north side of St. Cuthbert's church. He mentions also that there was a chantry priest there. The chapel possessed a silver chalice and ornaments to the value of 24s. 8d. In 1548 the endowment for the chaplain as of a chantry priest reverted to the Crown, and in Cardinal Pole's list of pensions John Dible, formerly chaplain of the New hall, Mountroy, aged seventy, and now of the almshouse is entered as in receipt of £3 6s. 8d. a year. This endowment, however, appears to have been given back by Queen Mary in 1553 to the commonalty of Wells to increase the income of the hospital. It is uncertain what use was made of the chapel in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but in the seventeenth

century a non-resident chaplain certainly was attached to the hospital, nominated of right by the dean and chapter of Wells, and at the present time the Vicar of St. Cuthbert undertakes the spiritual supervision of the inmates, and services are held on Sundays and two or three other days in the week in the ancient hospital chapel.

The Bubwith hospital (*hospitium infra cœmiterium* as it was called to distinguish it from the hospital of St. John) did not cover all the ground between Beggar Street and the churchyard. Certain tenements existed on that site, and through later benefactions these have been all annexed for the benefit of the charity. In 1607 Bishop John Still bequeathed £500 to be laid out in lands for the relief and sustentation of six more poor and decayed tradesmen of the city, and his son, Nathaniel Still, his executor, added another £269. These men were not to be under fifty years of age, and the vacancies as they occurred were to be filled up on the nomination of the Bishop of Bath and Wells for the time being.

Over the door of each of Still's almshouses is a tablet inserted in the wall recording the gift of Bishop John Still and his son, Nathaniel Still, for six more poor men in addition to the twenty-four of the original foundation, with the date 1614, and in the hall at the west end of Bubwith's building is an ancient iron-bound chest with three locks, raised on a renaissance support. At the ends of this are some verses, with the initials H. S., probably for Henry Southworth, and the date 1615.

'God and good Founders for poore hath done wel,
Yf faythe abyde where yt ought to dwell,
But fydelitye faylinge, saye what we shal,
The meanest must wane when ye myghty have all.

In yearlye accountes ye Founder dothe will
To resite ye gyfts of ye lorde bishoppe Still,
Leaste by neglecte poore's payments in nede,
Be all but in worde and nothing in deede.'

Again, in 1638, Walter Bricke, a woollen draper of Wells, gave thirty-three acres of land in Sutton Montacute for the maintenance of four poor burgesses not less than fifty years of age, and who shall have resided for seven years previously in Wells. These houses were built by the side of the Still almshouses to the south of the Bubwith, and the four Jacobean stone seats with canopies, which look south over the churchyard, record this addition to the original foundation.

The foundation was yet further increased by the benefaction of Bishop Willes. He was Bishop of Bath and Wells from (1743-1773), and in 1777 his son Edward, who was the executor of his will, gave in his father's name, recording at the same time that his father had been prevented by death from doing it himself, the sum of £1200 for the support of the poor and impotent men of the city, and for the increase of their number by four more. The hospital has also in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries received considerable benefactions for the repair of the fabric and for the support of the almsmen and women.

It is doubtful whether the hall at the west end of the Bubwith hospital was intended for the use of the

inmates, or for the larger purpose of a place of meeting for the trade guilds of the town. These guilds had lately obtained recognition as a corporate body, as the master and commonalty of the town, and as yet they had no hall for their chapters. Certainly, for several centuries, the hall at the Bubwith Hospital was used as one would say to-day as the town hall of the city. There was another hall, the site of which is not exactly known, which was the hall or guildhall of the Lord Bishop, and here the burgesses would meet to elect burgesses and discuss matters more or less under the influence of the old demesne lords of the borough. Naturally, as time passed on and the citizens grew more accustomed to free discussion, the hall in Beggar Street was used more frequently than the guildhall of the bishop. It is certain that Bishop Bubwith encouraged these meetings, and largely for that purpose altered the design and provided the large hall on the first storey at the west of his hospital, and Bishop Stafford, who sanctioned the statutes of the hospital, approved of the use to which the hall would be put. In the seventeenth century it is called the Almshouse Hall. The corporation, however, gave up the use of this hall in 1784, and, as we learn from the report of the charity commissioners of 1819, it was used by the parish for vestry meetings and parish business, and about 1850 this was subdivided and more chambers were built for the reception of the poor, while a smaller room was formed at the extreme west for the use of the trustees when they should meet.

The Almshouses and Ancient Buildings

On the land to the west, which is now a portion of

the churchyard, was a private house known as 'late Godwin's,' and was used as the poorhouse of the parish. It was, however, burnt down in 1805, and the foundations were taken up, and its site and the garden attached were thrown into the churchyard.

Bishop Still's example in his bequest to the Bubwith Hospital was fruitful, and on July 22, 1614, Henry Llewellyn of Wells left in his will, after certain family interests had expired, the sum of £500 to the four senior masters of the city to purchase a site and build some house upon it for the use of the poor of the city. He left also another £100 for the same purpose, and on November 30, 1630, the bequest came into effect, and John Lund, his surviving trustee, with Edward Stone and Thomas Baron, bought some land at Wedmore, and on a site on the east side of Priston or Priest's Row, belonging to the corporation of Wells, built almshouses for ten aged women, each of whom should have a sitting-room and a bedroom and a small plot of ground in front of their doors. The seats in the wall facing the eastern part of St. Cuthbert's churchyard are still in situ and of that date. The charity was always managed by the mayor and corporation of the city, and the site of the almshouses was ultimately enfranchised. In 1713 there was still £200 to be invested in land and this was done by the mayor and aldermen, who bought yet more land in Wedmore and Croscombe.

On the north side of Chamberlain Street the visitor will notice on a tablet let into the wall an inscription of the Harper Almshouses. These were for five poor

decayed woolcombers who should have served their lawful apprenticeship to the trade in the city of Wells. They are the benefaction of Archibald Harper, who by his will of May 5, 1711, left £500 for this purpose to his executors, Thomas and Archibald Millard, Thomas Pope, Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Richard Combs, Thomas Cooper, and Edward Slade. He left them also his house in Chamberlain Street, on the site of which the almshouses were built. In 1714 the trustees purchased forty-four acres of land at Wootton, and in 1726 ordinances for the management of the almshouses were drawn up and approved by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. He was appointed visitor, and it was expressly laid down that if no decayed woolcomber suitable for the charity should be found, who had served his apprenticeship in the city, other woolcombers should be chosen. The trade, however, was declining, and in 1732 the trustees petitioned the visitor, Bishop John Wynne, that they had two disorderly persons utterly unworthy in the almshouses and they knew not of any suitable persons to fill up the vacancies if these should be expelled. Bishop Wynne very properly ordered that if no decayed woolcombers should be found then the trustees were to choose from any others of the decayed and poor tradesmen of the city. The almshouse contains five rooms and a common room for the inmates when not used by the trustees for their meetings.

Among the institutions of Wells the United Charity School of the Barkham, Hickes and Hodges foundation, better known as the Wells Blue Schools, must

be noted. In his will, dated September 22, 1641, Ezekiel Barkham, a wealthy citizen, says that in his lifetime he had sold land, which produced £30 a year, for £800, and this he intended to settle for some pious use. On December 29, 1654, his widow, Margaret Barkham, agreed with Thomas Coward and others to form a trust to purchase land with this money to provide an income of £20 for the payment of an honest and religious schoolmaster conformable to the Church of England, and the rest of the income from the endowment to be spent in binding children apprentices to some trade. The children of New Street should be chosen as recipients of this charity before others. The school at first was carried on in the chapel of the Bubwith Almshouse, of which the schoolmaster was master. Adrian Hickes by his will, dated April 6, 1675, and who died on the following June 19, left £200 to certain trustees, and on December 23, 1701, Edward Fuller, and Elizabeth, his wife, the executor of the surviving trustee, created a trust with what was then £225 for the endowment of a yearly sermon and the rest of the income for the poor of the parish. On March 19, 1715, the Hickes feoffees proposed to unite their trust with that of the Barkham Trust for the endowment of a school, and this was finally accomplished on August 12, 1717. The trust was also augmented by a legacy of £50 from Mr. Wm. Westley.

On February 12, 1713, a charity school had been established by public subscription for twenty boys and twenty girls in a building erected by Mr. Philip

Hodges of Wells. Mr. Hodges died August 24, 1716, and his will is dated June 18, 1713. He says that a charity had lately been founded for the clothing and teaching of poor children in the city of Wells and a school built on land belonging to the dean and chapter of Wells, and he had left forty acres of land to provide a salary for the master who might teach the children assisted by the Barkham and Hickes foundation. The master was not to be in holy orders or a vicar of the cathedral, nor was he to have any distractions such as being a burgess or in possession of a vote. Mr. Hodges also wished that the children of poor parents of Chamberlain and New Street were to have priority of claim, and it is clear that at that time these two streets, where the best class of houses now are to be found, were then the poorest district of the town. At the beginning of last century there were about thirty-four boys and twenty girls. Twenty boys were on the foundation and received the blue uniform, which gave the later name to the school, and all the girls are fully clothed by the charity.

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During the eighteenth century the school was carried on in the North Liberty, when complaint often was made of the noise created by the boys, and about 1820 a site was acquired at the western corner of Chamberlain Street, and Soho was purchased as a house for the master. The end of last century saw a great expansion in numbers and the enlargement of the school, and five years ago entirely new buildings were erected for the girls.

Among the oldest inns of the city the most im-

portant is the Swan, that *magnum hospicium* of the corporation, which they leased in 1422, and which was rebuilt in 1549. The Swan was the banqueting house of the commonalty, and in the lease referred to it is called *unum magnum hospicium vocatum Swan*. John Pury and Isabel, his wife, were to have the lease at a yearly rental of 46s. 8d. The house is described as between that of William Chaundeler on the north and the house of the prior of St. John the Baptist on the south. A list of the furniture which belonged to the corporation is given, and consisted of various tables, settles, chairs and utensils for cooking and feasting.

The Katharine Wheel, on the site of Mr. Woodham's shop, and the Crystesham Inn, afterwards called the George, where now is the house of Stuckey's Banking Company, are mentioned in 1388. The Christopher Inn or the Novum Hospitium of the Vicars Choral occurs in 1407, and was afterwards known as Somerset House, at the corner of Guard House Lane. In the Market Place there was also the Crown Inn, of which we give an illustration, and the Hare and Hounds, and in the High Street there were the Queen's Arms, the Black Boy, the Star, mentioned in 1513, and the White Bull, while in Sadler Street we have the White Hart, the property in 1535 of the dean and chapter, and the Three Cups, leased in 1692 by the corporation to Paul Lovel, and the Mitre. At the corner of New Street and Chamberlain Street was the Angel Inn, which in 1740 belonged to the trustees of the United Charity Schools. The City Arms belonged to the corporation and had the corporation yard and prison behind it, and the Mermaid was leased in 1687 by the corporation to Humphrey Cordwent. In 1854, in making some alterations on the Mermaid, a doorway was discovered with the date 1630 on it. The Goat Inn was the manor house of the Wells subchanter, and the Three Pigeons was in St. John Street.

The Almshouses and Ancient Buildings

STAIRS TO THE CHAPTER-HOUSE AND CHAIN GATE

CHAPTER IX

AN ITINERARY OF THE TOWN—THE STREETS, LANES, AND MARKET-PLACE

IN describing an ancient town an itinerary is useful, that strangers may find their way the more easily among the narrow streets and discover the buildings and sights of which they have read. But the need for such varies with the size of the town described, and in Wells an itinerary is rather an item that makes for artistic completion than a necessity due to the complicated network of streets. Wells was never a large town. It is larger now than ever it was. Its growth has been very slow, and such as England was accustomed to before the great commercial activity of the nineteenth century. The sons of her citizens have gone forth elsewhere because there has been no great commercial effort which would employ their powers and keep them in the city of their ancestors. When one returns it is to fill up the gap created by the father's death. Therefore, without an itinerary, it would not be hard to find one's way about the city. From the top of the central

tower of the Cathedral Church there opens out to the venturesome stranger a beautiful panorama of the city, and the streets run east and west, north and south in a fairly regular manner. But we must imagine that he reaches Wells by road and not by a descent from the clouds. Of the approaches to Wells only two are really ancient. The road from Cheddar through Portway and the road from Shepton Mallet through Torregate and Tor Street are the ancient approaches from west and east. The road from Bristol and Bath over Pen Hill now takes us down New Street into Sadler Street, and has made for the last hundred years New Street a great thoroughfare. The old North Road ran over Pen Hill on its north-west side, and then turned round Stoberry Hill on its eastern side, going down the narrow lane past the quarry, and turning to the left took us into College Lane and to the Liberty. So, too, if we came from Glastonbury we would have entered Wells by Southover and Pool Lane at the back of the gas works. Priory Road and the northern portion of the road to Glastonbury is not a hundred years old. The traveller will probably arrive by railway train and get down at the Great Western Railway Station in Tucker Street, or the Somerset and Dorset Railway Station in Priory Road. From either station the prominent feature is the tower and church of St. Cuthbert, which he will pass in the one case and see across the gardens and cattle market in the other. Both travellers coming along St. Cuthbert Street or Broad Street will meet in High Street, which leads on

to the Market Place and centre of the city. In an earlier chapter we have remarked that Wells, as a city only, began as an appendage to Wells, the site of the bishop's church. The contrast between Wells and a continental city is very great. There, the houses cluster up under the shadow and protection of the great church, and always did so. The town existed before the cathedral church. Here the order is reversed. And what we see suggests exclusiveness. The wall which surrounds the cathedral and palace precincts had probably always existed, though Bishop R. de Salopia (1329-1363) made it higher, and Bishop Beckington gave it gates and gate towers. The great church and the cathedral houses at first formed a settlement to the east. The future city grew up to the south and west. So as the visitor passes through High Street he sees before him the gateway which leads to the palace and the gateway in the corner known as Penniless Porch, a picture of which we now give, which lead the pedestrian to the cloisters and the great church. He has now got as far as the site of the City Cross. If, therefore, when he reaches the eastern end of High Street he turns to the north, *i.e.* to the left, he enters Sadler Street with its many old houses and charming Elizabethan bay windows above the modern shop fronts, and finds on his left the Swan Inn, and sees facing it the expanse of the cathedral green and the western façade of the church. Artistically this opening, caused by the demolition of an old house, is a great gain, but historically it spoils the symmetry of design, and the

An Itinerary of the Town

Penniless Porch

visitor would be wise to close his eyes until he gets to Baron's Gate or Dean's Eye, of which we give an illustration in this chapter, a little further up on the right. The houses which face Sadler Street are shallow, and have the great wall behind them and another house beyond, the backs of both houses coming against either side of the wall. The wall, however, has been so pierced to make the two houses one that it can only be followed in its course from the roofs of the houses.

It has often been noticed how seldom in an ancient city has any great change occurred in the general direction of its ancient streets. Some ancient building, which possibly has long ago disappeared, fixed at first the general direction of the street and perhaps gave it a name, other houses were then built on either side of its length, and slowly it became less and less possible for any change to be made in the original direction of the street.

In Wells we must first describe the streets in that area of the city which was afterwards known as the In-parish, and afterwards those approaches to Wells which ran through the Out-parish. These two terms evidently belong to the times subsequent to the incorporation of the city, and we have to go back to times anterior to those when, more or less at the choice of the individual tenants of the bishop, houses were built in the neighbourhood of the church.

An Itinerary of the Town

Of course the first that attracts our attention is the High Street, the Alta Via or Magnus Vicus which ran fairly east and west and passed by the High Cross which stood near the site of the present conduit. The word 'alta' translated literally 'high,' means 'principal,' and was the name given to the chief street in the town. At first, probably on the south-eastern side of the High Street, ran a stream carrying the waters of St. Andrew's Wells to turn the bishop's mill in Southover. There was a large pool to the east of the present gateway leading to the palace, and there was a pool of stagnant water in the market-place, and as late as 1541 the market house and council chamber of the borough, which was erected over it, had to be raised up on piles leaving an under-croft which was doubtless damp and unhealthy and not fit for regular use.

On either side of the High Street were built the houses of those early tenants of the bishop, for whom afterwards some early bishop erected the church which came to be known as St. Cuthbert's. At its eastern end, High Street probably turned somewhat

northward to lead up to that western entrance to the cathedral of which the cloister entrance still remains a fragment of the thirteenth century, which shows the way the processions from the town were wont to enter the Church of St. Andrew. High Street is mentioned as early as 1228. In 1368 it is called Great Street. Three houses belonging to the dean and chapter were in *magno vico*. The houses built on either side of it are mentioned again in 1410 in the corporation records as forming one of the quarters of the town. Midway of its length, in what is now its broader portion, were a series of butchers' and other stalls known as the Middle Row, and over one of these, in 1551, was built the Linen Hall. This Middle Row ran from near the Star Hotel as far as Broad Street. At right angles running north from the High Cross and bounding the cathedral precincts on the west was Sadler Street, often mentioned in early documents and descriptive probably of the trade that was plied there, though in 1451 John Sadeler was M.P. for the city. Here was the old *Magnum Hospitium vocatum* Swan Inn belonging to the seneschal and commonalty of the borough, which in 1422 they leased to John Pury and Isabel, his wife, for £2, 6s. 8d yearly.

Chamberlain Street, with its western continuation, Beggar Street, leading to Portway, ran parallel to the High Street. It occurs as early as 1323, for Walter Spark's house was there, a house which belonged to the dean and chapter, and which they leased afterwards to John Bokyngg. There was also a family of

the name of Chamberlain in 1335. New Street occurs as early as 1372, and is therefore only new now in relation to the older streets of the town. It was not, however, the main thoroughfare to Bristol, but only a narrow lane leading to the Milton and Wookey Hole manors. The western prolongation of High Street was known as St. Cuthbert's Street, and ran on the southern side of the parish church. We meet with it in 1410. Tucker Street ran from Portway further west, and its name probably indicates its character. We meet with it in 1371, and in 1390 the priory of St. John the Baptist had a house in it. Portway was the western exit towards Wedmore and Cheddar, and is mentioned in John Brown's will in 1407.

Priston, or Priest's Row, had at its south-east corner a chamber which is sometimes called the exchequer, and which was probably the exchequer of the trade guilds as distinct from the exchequer of the corporation, and led from the curate's house towards the Bubwith Hospital. Here lived the priest who was wont to celebrate at St. Mary's altar in the transept of the parish church. Parallel to this but further east, leading from Chamberlain Street to High Street, ran Grope Lane, which is sometimes called Grove Lane, and now called Union Street. John Att Water owned the corner house, north-east of the lane, in 1500, and bequeathed it to his grandson Alayne Wise. It occurs, however, as early as 1352, and in 1378 John le Roper bequeathed to the dean and chapter his house there as the

endowment of an obit or mortuary mass for himself.

Coming again into High Street we find that it turns south-west towards St. John's Priory, and so through John's Street and Silver Street, by La Poole Lane, to the southern exit from the town in the direction of Coxley and Glastonbury. The lane between High Street and the priory was called Water or Wete Lane, and was much narrower than the present Broad Street, and at the corner, where it and Mill Lane abut on to High Street, was the town pump called Jacob's pump, which, on the formation of Broad Street, was removed into Mill Lane and finally abolished. Jacob's well or pump is referred to as early as 1340, and in 1342 a tavern is described, probably the Cock Alehouse, as being opposite Jacob's well.

Mill Lane ran past the bishop's mill to Southover, and the parallel lane to the east, called Guard House Lane, and formerly Horse Lane, is said to have received its present title from the French wars. Tradition records that the French soldiers captured in the Peninsular war were kept imprisoned in the lofty guard-house, now used by Mr. Fry as a storehouse for grain, but there is no evidence forthcoming to prove this. A toft, belonging to the dean and chapter, is mentioned in 1381 as being in *vacua placea vocata* Mill Lane. Water or Wete Lane is described in the corporation records of 1410 as one of the districts of the town, as well as Southover, which was much more in evidence in mediæval times than it is now.

Here was an old chapel dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, of which we find mention as late as 1547, when the chapel and chantry was abolished. It is said to have been on the site of the present Wesleyan Chapel. There was a family of the name of de Southover in 1300. The widening of Water Lane into Broad Street, and the making of Priory Road changed Southover into a quiet, secluded district, but the gate-posts and ancient buildings, which can still be seen forming portions of modern cottages, warehouses, and stables, tell of a prosperity which is no longer enjoyed.

BARON'S OR BROWN'S GATE

The city shambles were up Guard House Lane, but, as late as 1706, the butchers were wont to slaughter

and open sheep, and cattle, and pigs, before their doors in the Middle Row in High Street, and were reprimanded for doing so by the city council. The butchers' stalls were probably in both streets, and in 1591 the corporation took one of their houses, occupied by Henry Payne, and turned it for a time into the city prison. The road past the deanery from Sadler Street to St. Andrew's Street, and Tor Lane was not a thoroughfare, and only custom has made it such. In 1614 a controversy took place concerning it between the town and the dean and chapter. The latter wished to close it, and the corporation decided to present a bill of indictment against the dean and chapter at the next assizes. The dean and chapter, however, gave way, but when, in 1841, the corporation desired to demolish the western cathedral gate tower, known as Baron's or Brown's, the dean and chapter successfully prevented such a piece of vandalism. Between the hall of the archdeacon of Wells and the western side of the Vicars' Close there was a narrow pathway running north from the cathedral church and coming out in the North Liberty nearly opposite the Canons' Tithebarn, now the Cathedral Grammar School. This was called the Canons' Walk, and existed into the second half of the nineteenth century.

St. Andrew Street led to Torregate and to Tor Street, which has been the high road to Shepton Mallet ever since Bishop Jocelyn obtained from King John licence to empark the meadows below, and turn the road up the hill by the present stone quarry. There was a

large pond in Torre Lane *unum magnum stagnum* formed by the waters of the stream that ran down from Horrington and through which the waters ran on into the pool in La Poole Lane, and so on to Kiward Mill. There were several prebendal houses here and in St. Andrew's Street, some in the patronage of the bishop, and some the property of the dean and chapter. The Grammar School, when first it existed as a school distinct from the Choir School, was lodged here in one of the canon's houses. There are frequent references to these houses in the dean and chapter records from 1292 all through the fourteenth and subsequent centuries. Torregate is mentioned in the corporation records in 1410.

The North Liberty, the lane running from New Street between the great wall of the Liberty which Bishop R. de Salopia built, and the college in the Mountroy was really the old North Road, and turned to the left on meeting the East Liberty road, and was known as College Lane, where once stood the college of Annueller Priests, and then to the right making its way over the eastern side of Stoberry Hill, and so over Pen Hill towards Chewton and Bristol. Though the college was suppressed in 1547, Godwin still spoke fifty years afterwards of the site of the college as in College Lane.

To Bishop Beckington (1443-1465) is due the general appearance of the Market Place of to-day. When he came to Wells he found the precincts of the cathedral church and his own palace cut off from the town by a high wall, which probably had two or

PORCH OF 'A BISHOP'S RIB'

three small arches or gateways to give access from the town to the church, the canons' houses and the palace. He altered these gateways by building over them the three towers and entrances known as the Bishop's Eye, the Penniless Porch, and Baron's or Brown's Gateway. Penniless Porch was, as its name indicates, the resort of the beggars who waylaid the faithful on their way to the cathedral services. These three towers were linked together by a curtain wall such as that which can be seen running on the south side of the North Liberty. On the east and north of the Market Place he faced this wall with houses of remarkable dignity, of which some portions can still be seen above the shop fronts of to-day. In a short time also the wall as it turned north in Sadler Street towards Baron's Gateway was also so faced. Then followed, probably in the seventeenth century, a humbler row of houses on the other side of the wall

and facing the cathedral green, and it was only a mere matter of time to pierce this ancient wall and make the two houses one, with fronts to the Green and to the Market Place. Certainly remnants of the ancient wall of 1339 run through the midst of these houses, and can be distinctly observed when looked at from above.

On September 20, 1451, Bishop Beckington also made a grant of a site in the palace grounds near the wells of St. Andrew, to build a conduit house, and he gave permission to the mayor and burgesses of the city to dig a trench and lay pipes from the conduit house to the conduit by the High Cross. He ordered also that the mayor and burgesses should visit his tomb yearly and pray for his soul's welfare. The High Cross was certainly anterior to the conduit, and the conduit was made to fit into the design of the Cross. It was probably rebuilt in more substantial manner at this time with troughs attached to hold the water which came down from the wells. Conduit wardens to regulate the flow of this water were first appointed 1513. Above this structure was erected the market bell. This was an important bell—the bell *ad altam crucem civitatis*. On July 2, 1530, the corporation ordered that no one was to sell or to buy before the market bell had sounded permission, a rule which appears in a slightly altered form in the Cordwainers' minute-book in 1608. 'A showmaker shall not sill any bottes or shows upon the Wensday or Satterday being the markets untill the klock hath finished xii. upon pain 9d.'

This clock was placed very near to the bell, and had a like official character. In 1542 Bishop Knight and Dean Woolman built in the centre of this area a market house. It was raised up on pillars, the undercroft being used as a place for the assembly of the assize courts, and probably the bishop's court. An inscription ran round the building recording the date of its erection and the men who built it.[1] On its western side was placed the city clock or horologe, for the cleaning and mending of which references often occur in the city records.

The citizens had been wont to assemble in the town hall to the west of Bishop Bubwith's almshouses, and this second hall is constantly referred to in later documents as the assize hall or exchequer.

On October 2, 1663, the corporation ordered that the names of all who had given towards the setting up of the town hall were to be entered in a book and produced before the burgesses, and on December 1, 1687, it would seem that those earlier repairs were very temporary, for it was decided to rebuild and repair the present exchequer or common council house and woolcroft thereunto belonging, and to rebuild the common prison or gaol of the city.

In 1702 it was ordered that a proper place should be made under the common council chamber for the setting up of the city fire engine. The com-

[1] Ad honorem Dei Omnipotentis et commodum pauperum, mercatorum Welliæ frequentantium impensis Gulielmi Knight episcopi et Ricardi Woolman hujus ecclesiæ cathedralis olim decani hic locus erectus est. Laus Deo, pax viris, requies defunctis. Amen. A.D. 1542.

mon prison was the cellar of the City Arms, where also was another chamber belonging to the citizens, which was known as the Burgesses's Chamber. In 1736 this is referred to, and it is ordered that the prison accommodation was to be improved, and the Burgesses's Chamber was to be used as a room for the reception of prisoners not capitally charged.

In 1749 we find an entry of £5 for the taking down and setting up of the hall for sessions. This was the space under the council chamber, and in 1756 we find that complaint was made by the magistrates in quarter sessions of the great cold and the inconvenience of the place, and the magistrates threaten to remove the sessions elsewhere if their assembly place is not improved. In 1768 we are told of the boards, paper, and glue that were used for stopping up the holes and making the space suitable for the sessions.

Meanwhile the city had been looking out for some site on which to build a better house for the sessions. To the south of the Market Place was a building, one of the old houses of the bishops of Bath and Wells, which he was wont to give, for his lifetime, to a prebendary, that he might reside in Wells. When the house of the archdeaconery of Wells was confiscated through the disgrace and flight of Polydore Vergil, the archdeacons of Wells ceased to have an official residence in the city, and it would appear that at some time, not stated, but probably in the seventeenth century some bishop of Bath and Wells had given the house on the south of the Market Place as the official residence of the Archdeacon of Wells. This house,

MARKET-PLACE WITH GOTHIC CONDUIT

then, the corporation arranged to purchase. In 1778 it was resolved to fit up the archdeacon's canonical house for the purpose of holding the next quarter sessions for the county, and in 1779 under an Act of Parliament the house was purchased, and a town hall was built for the purpose of the assizes and sessions and the general business of the corporation. It was at first proposed to pull down the old exchequer and also the High Cross, and build the town hall in the centre of the Market Place, and plans were made for the demolition of both, but the scheme was altered, and only Knight's and Woolman's Exchequer was pulled down. The town had some correspondence with Bishop Moss about it, and he sanctioned the plan on March 10, 1778.

In 1785, however, we again find reference to the

High Cross and conduit. Part of the Cross had fallen, having probably been weakened by the work of the labourers when they began to loosen the foundations in 1778, and so with the bishop's consent the rest of the cross was taken down and the materials stored safely away, and on September 24, 1796, it was resolved that the present conduit, which had probably consisted of a series of troughs to the east of the Cross, should be removed and another conduit built on a site approved by the bishop and the town-clerk, and in the next year, 1797, Mr. Masters of Bath was chosen to build the new conduit for which he received £150.

BISHOPS OF BATH AND WELLS

Athelm, 909-914. Translated to Canterbury.
Wulfhelm, 914-923. Translated to Canterbury.
Ælfheah, 923.
Wulfhelm, 938.
Brihthelm, 956-973. A Glastonbury monk.
Kyneward, 973-975. Abbot of Milton.
Sigar or Sigegar, 975-997. Abbot of Glastonbury.
Œlfwin or Ædelwin, 997. Reputed tomb in Wells.
Burwold. Uncertain but reputed tomb in Wells.
Lioving or Leofwing or Ælfstan, 999-1012. Tomb in Wells.
Æthelwin, 1013. Abbot of Eversham.
Brihtwin, 1013. Rival Bishop.
Merewit, 1027-1033. Abbot of Glastonbury.
Duduc, 1033-1060. Tomb in Wells.

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Giso, 1061-1088. Consecrated at Rome, April 15. Tomb in Wells.

John of Tours surnamed de Villula, 1088-1122. Buried at Bath.

Godfrey, 26th August 1123-16th August 1135. Buried at Bath.

Robert of Lewes, the Flamand, 1136-1166, August 31. Buried at Bath.

Reginald Fitzjocelyn, 23rd June 1174 - 26th December 1191. Buried at Bath.

Savaric, 20th September 1192 - 8th August 1205. Buried at Bath.

Jocelyn of Wells, 28th May 1206 - 19th November 1242. Buried at Wells.

Roger of Salisbury, 11th September 1244 - 13th January 1247. Buried at Bath.

William Bytton, 14th June 1248 - 3rd April 1264. Buried at Wells.

Walter Giffard, 4th January 1265. Translated to York, 1266.

William Bytton II., 1266 - 4th December 1274. Buried at Wells.

Robert Burnell, 7th April 1275 - 25th October 1292. Buried at Wells.

William March, 17th May 1293 - 11th June 1302. Buried at Wells.

Walter Haselshaw, 4th November 1302 - 11th December 1308. Buried at Wells.

John Drokensford, 9th November 1309 - 9th May 1329. Buried at Wells.

Ralph of Shrewsbury, 3rd September 1329 - 14th August 1363. Buried at Wells.

John Barnet, November 1363. Ely, 1366.

John Harewell, 7th March 1367 - July 1386. Buried in Wells.

Walter Skirlaw, 1386. Durham, 1388.

Ralph Erghum, 14th September 1388 - 10th April 1400. Buried in Wells.

Henry Bowet, 16th November 1401. York, 1407.

Nicholas Bubwith, 1407 - 27th October 1424. Buried in Wells.

John Stafford, 27th May 1425. Canterbury, 1443.

Thomas Beckington, 13th October 1443 - 14th January 1465. Buried in Wells.

Robert Stillington, 16th March 1466 - May 1491. Buried in Wells.

Richard Fox, 1492. Durham, 1494.

Oliver King, 1495 - 29th August 1503. Buried probably in Bath.

Hadrian de Castello, 1504-1518.

Thomas Wolsey, 1518-1523.

John Clerk, 6th December 1523 - 3rd January 1541.

William Knight, 29th May 1541 - 29th September 1547. Buried in Wells.

William Barlow, 1548-1554. Deprivatus.

Gilbert Bourne, 1st April 1554 - 1559. Deprivatus.

Gilbert Berkeley, 24th March 1560 - 2nd November 1581. Buried in Wells.

Thomas Godwin, 13th September 1584 - 19th November 1590. Buried in Wells.

John Still, 11th February 1593 - 26th February 1608. Buried in Wells.

James Montague, 17th April 1608 - 1616. Winchester.

Arthur Lake, 8th December 1616 - 4th May 1626. Buried in Wells.

William Laud, 1626-1628. London.

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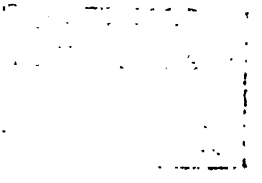
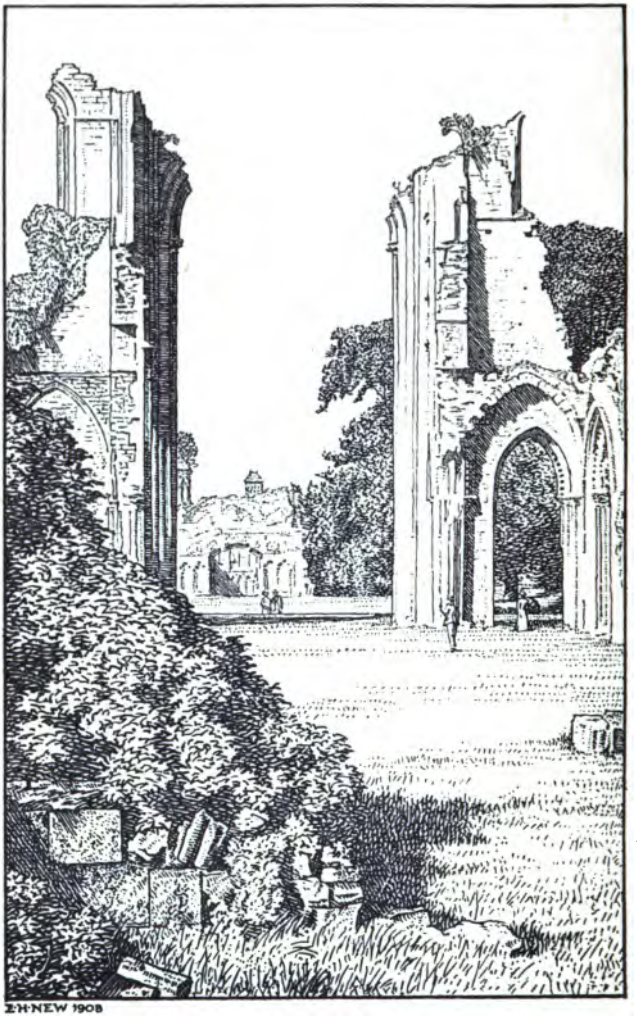
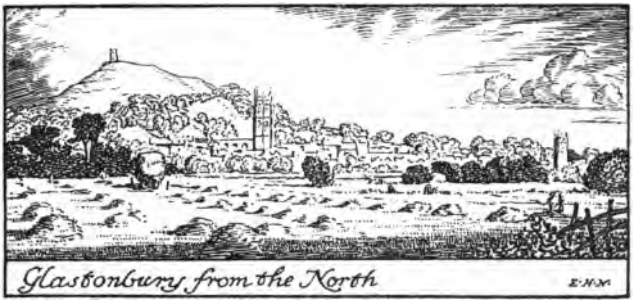
Leonard Mawe, 7th September 1628 - 2nd September 1629.
Walter Curl, 1629-1632. Winchester.
William Piers, 1632 - April 1670.
Robert Creyghton, 19th June 1670 - 21st November 1672. Buried in Wells.
Peter Mews, 9th February 1673. Winchester, 1684.
Thomas Ken, 25th January 1685 - 1691. Deprivatus.
Richard Kidder, 30th August 1691 - 3rd November 1703. Buried in Wells.
George Hooper 1704 - 6th September 1727. Buried in Wells.
John Wynne, 1727 - 15th July 1743.
Edward Willes, 1743 - 24th November 1773.
Charles Moss, 1774 - 13th April 1802.
Richard Beadon, 1802 - 21st April 1824. Buried in Wells.
George Henry Law, 1824 - 22nd September 1845. Buried in Wells.
Richard Bagot, 1845 - 15th May 1854.
Robert John Eden, Lord Auckland, 1854 - 1869. Resigned.
Arthur Charles Hervey, 21st December 1869 - 9th June 1894. Buried in Wells.
George Wyndham Kennion, 1894——





GLASTONBURY ABBEY FROM THE EAST END



CHAPTER X

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ABBEY

WHEN King Ine and St. Aldhelm laid the foundations of the English monastery at Glastonbury, it was on a site even then doubly famous, and surrounded with a halo of antiquity which claimed for it a special sanctity. So as the ages rolled on and men began to consider the ground on which their house was built, some influences from below rose up and coloured the history of the house they occupied; and it seemed almost as if there had never been any strata of ruins, and that the foundations of their beloved monastery were laid in times about which no written history existed. This it is which gives to Glastonbury its unique interest. No place in England can be compared to it. The house had not fallen though it was rebuilt. The faith of the earlier occupiers was the same as of those who entered into

possession in the days of Ine, and if we cannot say that there was continuous observance of the services of God when the Christian Saxon took the place of Christian Briton, yet, at least, we can say that as a Christian shrine of the British Church it did not witness the ruthless slaughter of the heathen invader. It is the oldest ecclesiastical foundation in the island. It alone can claim that it forms the link between English and British Christianity and the fame it had gained among the British was claimed as if it was their own, and published abroad by later generations of English and Norman monks.

So the historian of Glastonbury has to make evident to his readers those various strata which have been ignored, pointing out those traditions and historic facts which have their roots in each separate bed. And the task before him is made the harder because later generations have put their own interpretations on legends and traditions which they did not understand, and weaving them into the texture of their own historic narrative, offer to us a tale that is indeed fascinating without being in any way convincing or acceptable.

We must, however, go deeper down, and how deep we cannot really say, tracing back our traditions to ages long before the days of the Christian faith, when heathen Celts, Goidels and Brythons passed on from generation to generation their ideas and their aspirations of another world and another life. During the twelfth and thirteenth century of English history, the age of the Romancists, two groups of

legends spring up almost full-grown and attach themselves without difficulty to Glastonbury, and one has to account for this attraction and why legends of central France and Celtic Britain should so easily find themselves at home in the English monastery on the island of Glastonbury. The legend of St. Joseph of Arimathea and the Holy Grail, and the legend of Arthur also, that hero, half-historical and half-mythical, who was so popular in feudal times, came to Glastonbury and settled down, attracted thither by something more than the ambition of mediæval monks. It is for us to discover what it was that drew them.

Westward, thought the heathen Celt, were the souls of the departed borne by mysterious ferrymen to an island near the setting of the sun. It was the island of Glast or of Aval or Avallac, for such were the names of the gods who held sway in those regions of darkness and of mystery. They thought also that in that distant isle there was a mysterious cauldron of regeneration into which the souls of heroes were dipped and whence they sprang into a new life, healed of all their wounds, in the shadowy regions of the grave. As the solar myth, common to all the ancient religions of the Indo-European races, linked itself on to these earlier legends, the setting and the rising of the sun, its death and its new birth, helped to strengthen the faith of the Celt in the virtues of this mystic cauldron. But how were these legends connected with Glastonbury? How did the name of the heathen god of the nether world come to be

attached to that island? In those remote ages the site was practically an island, and one of difficult approach except for small boats.

The moors had not been drained, and the water lay stagnant, and low mists hung long and heavy where now are arable fields and productive orchards. As the myth comes to us it comes in the form into which it had been cast by those who lived on the eastern side of Britain. It is true that the myth has been preserved to us by those who lived on in the West and beyond the Severn, but their ancestors must have brought it with them as they retired from the advance of stronger and superior invaders. Yet as they looked across from the high grounds of Wiltshire and saw the island peak raise itself above the fog that hung over the swamp, it was an island in the western sea, and such an island was the home of those who had died. Surely there was the realm of Glast and thither was the abode of Avallac.

We certainly cannot say that those early Celts ever called the place Ynys Glastening or Ynys Avallac, but it is certain that the monks and bards of later times did not invent these place-names. They found them here and did not understand them, and so took to inventing meanings for them, and regarding Glast as if it were English turned it into Welsh through a Latin equivalent, for Ynys Vytryn is merely an attempt to explain the meaning of Ynys Glastening. The very mistakes and stumbling explanations of William of Malmesbury and the monks who instructed him, help to give evidence to the

GLASTONBURY TOR FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

reality of that myth of far distant ages, before the missionary came and proclaimed the faith of Christ.

If, then, this island on the moor suggested in any way to the heathen Celt the western island of the nether world, it would also at the same time become connected with the mystic cauldron; and when in after days men learnt other truths concerning the life after death, yet they would continue to think Glastonbury as being the place where this cauldron had been. Thus it was that long before the invasion of Julius Cæsar and before the time when Somerset was occupied by the Belgæ and before the time when

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any pioneer of Christianity could have come, Glastonbury was identified in the minds of the Celts and had become in a certain way famous as the happy island of the blest, where the hero rested from his toil and the wounded were healed of the wounds which he had received in battle.

We must now come to historic times and to the ages when Christianity might have been brought to Roman Britain. There was a tradition prevalent as early as the time of Beda that missionaries, sent at the request of a British king, Lucius, by Pope Eleutherus, Diruvianus and Phaganus, had preached the Gospel in Britain. In the ninth century Freculphus the historian had said that the Gospel had been brought to Gaul by St. Philip, and in England, in the twelfth century, when William of Malmesbury, at the request of the abbot and monks of Glastonbury, drew up his history of the Antiquities of the monastery, this legend of Freculphus was improved on. The story of Joseph of Arimathea and the Holy Grail had grown up in France and at first had no connection with England. But Celtic tradition lingered on in England as it lingered in France, and there was here that substratum of legend which would welcome St. Joseph and the Holy Grail if only he could be got over from France. So we find in Malmesbury's *Antiquities* that already in 1130 the assumption had been made. St. Philip in his zeal for Christianity had despatched twelve missionaries to Britain, and over them he had appointed St. Joseph. Now, if St. Joseph had the Grail, he must

have taken it to Glastonbury, for all knew that at Glastonbury was the mystic vessel of regeneration. St. Joseph and the Grail was the Christian form of the heathen legend. It arose probably first of all in central France, and it is only under its English version that St. Joseph becomes a missionary and naturally settles down in Glastonbury. There seems certainly to be some foundation for the tradition of a very early visit of Christian missionaries to Britain. The true version has not yet been definitely put together. Diruvianus and Phaganus were real characters, and perhaps were the actual names of two early missionaries. Their labours may be the foundation of this missionary tradition. At Glastonbury, however, that effort was assigned to St. Joseph, who himself was said to be the emissary of St. Philip.

We have now to introduce the monastic movement into Glastonbury and with it all the great names that Glastonbury monks claim for the house to which they belonged.

Monasticism was unknown in Western Europe before the end of the fourth century, and St. Martin of Tours was the first, at Ligugé and at Tours, to introduce the cœnobitic monasticism of the East into Gaul. When at Tours there is reason to believe that he was visited by St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, or if they did not actually meet, yet at Tours and Marmoutier St. Patrick saw at work the system of monasticism which St. Martin had introduced. This was probably in the first or second decade of the fifth century. Christianity had been already estab-

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lished in Britain for a century and a half, and when St. Patrick passed through on his way to Ireland again, one need not doubt that he did all he could to propagate the monastic fervour he had witnessed on the banks of the Loire. St. Patrick was certainly for later Christianity the father of monasticism.

Now Glastonbury is the oldest monastic foundation in England. The Welsh Triads belong to an age long anterior to that in which they were put in writing, and they tell us there were three chief perpetual choirs of the Isle of Britain, the choir of Llan Iltud Vawr in Glamorganshire, the choir of Ambrosius in Ambresbury, and the choir of Glastonbury. In each of these three choirs there were two thousand four hundred saints, that is, there were a hundred for every hour of the day and night, in rotation, perpetuating the praises of God without rest or intermission.

We have then here a tradition reaching back before the Saxon invasion. Monasticism was established in the British church, and at least three monasteries had become famous. And it must have been established before the middle of the sixth century, for Ambresbury was destroyed by the heathen Saxons soon after 556 A.D.

So at Glastonbury there was a famous monastery several decades before the arrival of St. Augustine, and for English Christianity it came to be looked upon as the mother of all monastic life.

The movements, however, of the Saxon invaders were slow. It was only in 577, after the battle of Dyrham, that they gained possession of North

Somerset through the capture of Cirencester and Bath. Then came another long pause, and not before 658, after the battle of Pen Hill, did they advance south-west to the banks of the river Parret. The Saxons, therefore, did not come to Glastonbury until 658, and when they did come they came as nominally Christians. Cynegils their monarch had been baptized in 636 and Cenwalch his successor in 646. The age of the utter destruction of British Christian shrines had passed away, and when the Saxon invaders entered the sacred courts of Glastonbury we may believe that they neither destroyed nor desecrated them.

Now this fact is necessary that we may understand the future story of the monastery. It is the key that unlocks the casket of legend and history which William of Malmesbury presents to us. Glastonbury became the channel through which there ran into the new and vigorous fields of English monasticism all the treasured legends and beliefs of earlier Celtic monasticism.

So far we have only considered Glastonbury in the light of traditions that were not English, traditions which the English monks adopted, and some of which they certainly did not understand.

William of Malmesbury was the first who wrote on the Antiquities of Glastonbury, and his work was completed about 1130. He had already become famous as an English historian from his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and his *Gesta Pontificum* which had appeared before 1126, and it was on the strength of

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these that he was invited to Glastonbury to write on its early history. Before he came to Glastonbury he had said that Glastonbury had been founded by King Ine at the instigation of St. Aldhelm—*de novo fecit* he says of King Ine. England generally knew nothing of Glastonbury before the time of King Ine. At Glastonbury itself, however, other traditions and ambitions had been treasured. We get one in the life of St. Dunstan, written about A.D. 1000, which describes the old church of St. Mary as of such age and sanctity that men said it was not built by human hands, but had come down from heaven. This tells us also that the first preachers of the gospel in Britain found the church all ready to hand, and that they added a stone oratory in honour of St. Peter. It is clear, therefore, that the ambitious claims of the Glastonbury monks did not begin when William of Malmesbury went to their monastery. They had existed a century and a half earlier. And while William of Malmesbury tells us of the great antiquity and how the disciples of St. Philip and St. James had founded the Christian settlement there and how St. Patrick, St. David, and nearly all the great saints of Celtic Christianity came and settled or were buried there, the real historic fact shows itself through all this legend that as an English monastery King Ine was the founder.

One fact, however, he is able to adduce which proves the earlier life. The monks showed him an old document which was a grant to the monastery by a king of Damnonia at the request of Abbot Worgret of the land of the island of Glastonbury, of the land

which came to be known as the Glastonbury twelve hides. This document was dated 601, and we have in it convincing evidence that Glastonbury had been a Celtic monastery. It contained also the names of two other abbots, Lodemund and Bregoret, a further proof of what we have stated.

An abbot of Glastonbury in the early years of the eighth century is mentioned in the life of St. Boniface of Germany by his disciple St. Willibald. He is Beorwald, and he must have been abbot about 715 A.D. Now in the lists of abbots given by William de Malmesbury there is great confusion. Neither in order nor in date do they agree with what he has to say of them in the text of his *Antiquities*, and another list of abbots of about the same date among the Cottonian MSS. of the British Museum makes the confusion yet worse. Certain names occur in both, and so we may assume that there was some authority on which both lists were based, but the lists cannot be regarded as historical. The reign of King Ine was from 688-726. The earlier years of his reign, however, were marked by much warfare, and his labour for the church would not have been till the end of the seventh century. In 704 he founded the bishopric of Sherborne, and St. Aldhelm became the first bishop, and it is probably soon after 704 that, at the bishop's instigation, King Ine restored the ancient abbey of Glastonbury. This would coincide with the date which must be assigned to Beorwald, and we cannot be wrong in assuming that he was the first English abbot.

The history of Glastonbury after we have estab-

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lished its origin and its earlier traditions, offers us very little of interest until we come to the time of St. Dunstan. It had probably sunk down into that state of lax discipline of which Beda complains, and in the middle of the tenth century there appear to have been no monks, nor can we hear of an abbot. St. Dunstan was born near Glastonbury, and of parents of noble rank, and he was educated by some Irish pilgrims who had settled down at Glastonbury either with, or, as we are told, to be near the remains of St. Patrick.

King Eadmund was an intimate friend of St. Dunstan, and made him abbot of Glastonbury about 943. Under Dunstan the monastery at once entered upon a new and more vigorous life. Together with Oda, his predecessor at Canterbury, and Oswald, his successor at Worcester, he strove to introduce the revived Benedictinism of the Continent into England. His treatment of the secular clergy was severe, but it is certain that at the time much was necessary to make vigorous and efficient the life of the English Church. From his day Glastonbury has a distinct historic existence as a Benedictine monastery with a continuous succession of abbots. He became bishop of Worcester in 957, and two years afterwards was promoted to Canterbury, but the monks of Glastonbury in later years were proud to tell how, though Archbishop and so powerful, he was wont to come and spend short intervals of time with them, and observe without any omission the strict discipline of a Benedictine monk.

The labours of St. Dunstan are of interest because they offer us some information concerning the monastic buildings at Glastonbury. We must not imagine that these were very elaborate. Doubtless they were very similar to Celtic monasteries at Iona or Lindisfarne. Some beehive cells for the monks and some large oblong cells for the church and perhaps the refectory. The earliest church which was subsequently called the *vetusta ecclesia* was the chapel or church of the Virgin Mary. It lay westward of the monastery. King Ine does not appear to have altered this, but to the east of it he erected another church, which was dedicated in honour of our Lord and the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. There were two pyramidal monuments east of the old church and between them was the grave of that heroic British monarch Arthur, the victor of Badbury Rings. It seems probable that the nearness of this monument accounted for the larger church being placed eastward. In the space between, at some subsequent time which is not told us exactly, was an oratory said to have been dedicated by St. David, and another the peculiar erection of some pilgrims from the north.

The Early History of the Abbey

Dunstan rebuilt most of the conventual buildings, and probably in accordance with some plan. He also enclosed those buildings with a boundary wall and rebuilt on a larger scale the eastern church which King Ine had erected. After his time we lose sight of the two intermediate oratories, and it seems as if St. Dunstan had included the oratories in this eastern church. It is certain from that period we

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hear only of two churches, that to the east built by St. Dunstan, and that to the west the chapel of Our Lady.

The claim of Glastonbury to possess the remains of so many Celtic and early English saints has certainly some authority. Its treasures were unique, and that because at a great crisis its fortune was good. During the Danish invasions of the ninth century Glastonbury was certainly plundered, and probably partly burned. It was only, however, a momentary disaster. The recovery was rapid. The royal family of Wessex during the tenth century was much in its neighbourhood, and so Glastonbury, in days which to other places were most perilous, came to be regarded as a place of comparative security. In the early years of the tenth century Irish pilgrims, making their way towards Rome and fleeing before the victorious Norsemen, lingered at Glastonbury, the mother of Celtic monasticism.

They carried with them relics which they would have saved from the fierceness of the heathen Danes. They were labelled St. Patrick, St. Benignus, and St. Bridget, and no one could dispute with them as to their genuineness. Glastonbury was the burial-place of St. Indractus, an Irish pilgrim who had been killed by some soldiers of the court of King Ine. And these Irish pilgrims never went to Rome. They stayed on, enriching the monastery with their treasures, and when St. Dunstan was a boy they undertook his education.

Soon after King Edmund the Elder added to the

treasures of the abbey, for he brought back after his northern campaign in 944 many relics of Northumbrian saints, including, it was asserted, the bones of Beda, St. Hild, and Benedict Biscop. About the same time Menevia was sacked, and refugees from South Wales are said to have brought relics of St. David and other of the Welsh heroes and saints.

So undoubtedly Glastonbury became, in the tenth century, the depository for many relics concerning which, since identification was impossible, exaggeration would naturally prevail. It had for a few years become the burial-place of Saxon kings and nobles. Eadmund the Elder was buried here in 946, and King Eadgar in 975, and Eadmund Ironside in 1006.

In 1032 King Cnut came to Glastonbury to worship at the grave of Eadmund Ironside, and he gave at the time various privileges and ornaments for the church and for the monks.

All through the centuries from A.D. 704 to the Norman conquest, privileges—gifts and estates—had been conferred on the abbey, and at the time of the Domesday Survey in 1084 Glastonbury was one of the richest and most influential of the monasteries of England. It possessed 818 hides together with the territory round Glastonbury which is known as the xii hides, and which was not surveyed or gelded because of its sanctity and its peculiar privileges. In Wiltshire also it possessed 258 hides, 85 hides in Dorset, and 40 in Berkshire. In Somerset its territory lay in the centre of the county, one huge estate

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from Wells on the north-east to the river Parret on the south-west, containing 442 hides.

At the time of the Conquest it was natural that William the Conqueror should consider it. Ægelnoth the abbot was an Englishman, and his monks had all an Englishman's prejudices against the invader. So in 1067 King William sent for the Abbot of Glastonbury and Ægelnoth was carried off into Normandy, a captive of the victorious duke. Then in 1078 he was formally deposed and sent to Canterbury to spend the rest of his life, and Thurstin, a monk of Caen, became the first Norman abbot of this ancient English monastery.

Severe and even cruel as Thurstin was to the disobedient English monks he was a good friend of the abbey over which he presided. He brought new ideas, grander and better than had been cherished before. He began at once to rebuild, on a larger scale, the church of Dunstan. He spared the old church to the west, the church of the Virgin Mary, and confined himself to the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. Then he determined to introduce a new method of Plain Song, which had been developed by William of Fécamp. The monks, however, did not like it, and apparently refused to adopt it. So Thurstin called in some soldiers of the sheriff to overawe the monks, and then the soldiers proceeded yet further than Thurstin could have intended. The monks fled from chapter-house to church, afraid of the soldiers and seeking a refuge. The soldiers, however, followed, and climbed up to the triforium or scaffolding that

still was in position, and shot their arrows at the monks as they cowered round the altar. Three of the monks were killed and eighteen were wounded, and such a catastrophe could hardly be kept from the ears of King William. So Abbot Thurstin was sent back to his former monastery at Caen, and there he was when William I. died and William II. succeeded. In 1089, however, he is said to have purchased his restoration, and that year saw him back at Glastonbury.

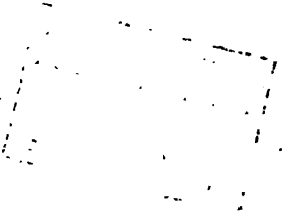
In 1101 Abbot Thurstin died and was succeeded by ~~another~~ a Norman, Herlewin, who is said to have partially, if not entirely, pulled down the church built by his predecessor and erected another on a much larger scale. The church cost him £480, and in addition he recovered various estates that had been temporarily alienated from the monastery at a cost of 1000 marks.

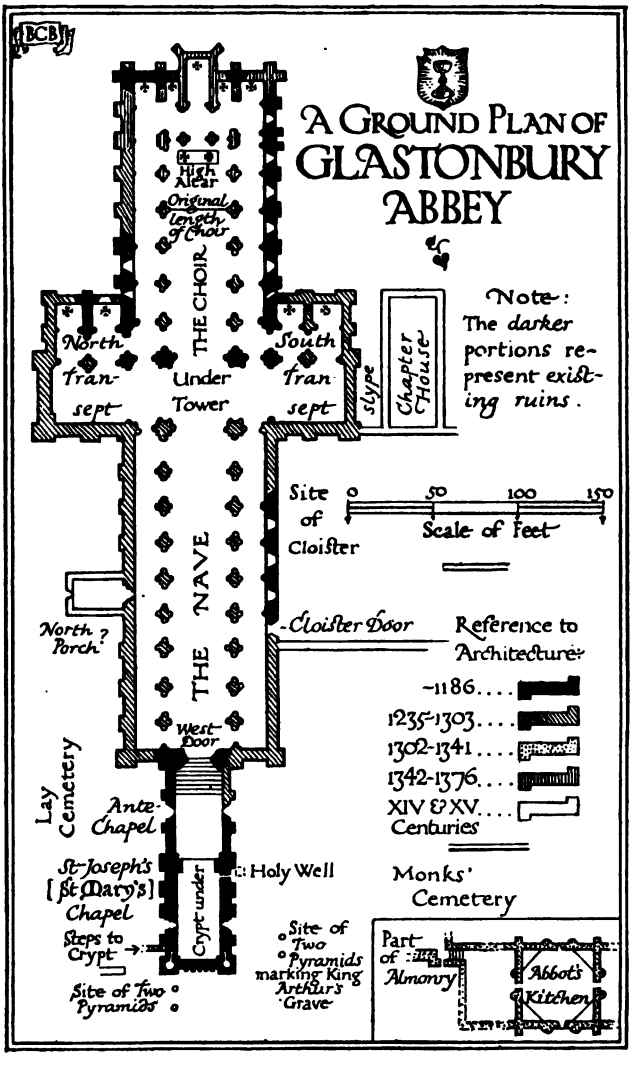
Herlewin was succeeded in 1120 by Siegfried, surnamed Pelochin, a monk of Seez. He was brother of Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury, and in 1125 was made Bishop of Chichester. He was an opponent of King Stephen, and being deposed in 1145 he retired to Glastonbury, and spent the remainder of his days there living as a simple monk.

Then in 1126 Henry of Blois, brother of King Stephen, became abbot, and in 1129 Bishop of Winchester also, and the affairs of the monastery flourished under his powerful influence and able administration. Accepting the church of Herlewin he set to work to rebuild the conventual chambers. He is

recorded to have erected a bell-tower, a chapter-house, cloister, lavatory, refectory, dormitory, and also an infirmary. The little chapel of the Virgin Mary to the west, notwithstanding all this zeal for building, seems to have continued untouched. No change or improvement seems to have been attempted. There was a sanctity about it which even a Norman abbot respected.

In 1171 Henry of Blois was succeeded by Robert, a monk of his own cathedral church of St. Swithun at Winchester, and then came the crisis which brings our chapter to an end. Abbot Robert died in 1179, and Henry II. seems to have some design which prompted him to keep the abbotship vacant. For ten years it was in the king's hands, and certain transactions were being carried on with Rome. Peter de Marci, a Cluniac monk, was appointed steward, and just before his death, on May 25, 1184, the whole abbey, lady chapel, church, and all Abbot Henry's new buildings, except the bell-tower and the abbot's lodging, was destroyed by fire. The work of centuries had to be undertaken afresh.




BCB
A GROUND PLAN OF
GLASTONBURY
ABBEY
High Altar
Original Length of Choir
THE CHOIR
North Tran-sept
Under Tower
South Tran-sept
Slype
Chapter House
Note: The darker portions represent existing ruins.
Site of Cloister
0 50 100 150
Scale of Feet
THE NAVE
North ? Porch
Cloister Door
Reference to Architecture:
-1186....
1235-1303....
1302-1341....
1342-1376....
XIV & XV.... Centuries
West Door
Lay Cemetery
Ante-Chapel
St Joseph's [St Mary's] Chapel
Holy Well
Monks' Cemetery
Steps to Crypt
Crypt under
Site of Two Pyramids
Site of Two Pyramids marking King Arthur's Grave
Part of Almonry
Abbot's Kitchen

CHAPTER XI

THE ABBEY IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

AN incident in the abbotship of Thurstin shows the great influence which the abbey had already obtained at the time of the Norman Conquest. There were three other Benedictine monasteries in the county, Bath, Muchelney and Athelney. Bath had also been a royal chapel, and so was not in the same position as Muchelney and Athelney, two small Benedictine monasteries apart from all the traffic of the age. They were so small that their isolation was a real danger. In 1084, or about that date, Bishop Giso, probably in anticipation of the Domesday Survey, proposed to make a visitation of these monasteries, but he was met with the declaration that they were in dependence on Glastonbury, and would answer the bishop's inquiries only through the Abbot of Glastonbury and in the chapter-house of that monastery. Bishop Giso brought the matter before a Council of the English Church, probably that at Gloucester, in 1085, and Archbishop Lanfranc decided

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in favour of the monasteries, and ordered that all inquiries concerning Muchelney should be made at Glastonbury, and should be answered by the Abbot of Glastonbury as the mouthpiece of the Abbot of Muchelney. It was evident therefore that the bishop had within his diocese a great ecclesiastical conspiracy of resistance to his lawful authority, an influence which might hamper him very much in the exercise of his lawful duties. We will see very soon how the bishops endeavoured to assert themselves.

Let us, however, now turn to the monastery which had suffered so much from the conflagration of St. Urban's day, May 25, 1184. Shortly after this the unpopular steward, Peter de Marci, died, and the affairs of the monastery were again directly in the hands of the king. Henry II. had encouraged the Welsh and their aspirations and may have therefore been the more inclined to support Glastonbury in his hour of need. He, however, undertook to rebuild the ruins, and appointed Robert Fitzstephen to superintend the work. The object of his immediate care was the *vetusta ecclesia*, the chapel of the Virgin Mary, which lay westward of all the other buildings, and which had been regarded with such special reverence. This it was decided to rebuild at once, and the decision may be dated December 2-17, 1184. The work then began at once. The style of the period, the Norman or Romanesque in its later form, with an excess of ornament, was of course adopted, and on 11th June, 1186, Reginald of Bath consecrated the new church now complete and ready for divine service. It is the

church of which we still have the four walls, the church which in popular language came to be known as the chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea.

Fitzstephen then began his plans for the rebuilding of the larger church. It was to be on a far grander scale, in length 400 feet and 80 feet in breadth. So anxious were they to set to work that the stones of Abbot Henry's 'castelhouse' or palace, which had been ruined by the fire, were used for the foundations. The church was apparently in relation to the *vetusta ecclesia* exactly in the same position as the older church. There was a space between them, a space which had been necessary when there were two oratories between the eastern and western churches, and which appears to have been regarded as desirable still, as giving easier access round the monumental pyramids which indicated the tomb of King Arthur.

Just before his death in 1189 Henry II. had appointed his nephew, Henry de Sully, abbot, and, interested in the story of King Arthur, which was then being evolved by the Romancists, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Walter Mapes, to the eclipse of the historical Arthur, he had bidden him search among the ruins for the tomb of Arthur. This was promptly begun, and in 1191 two tombs were discovered near these pyramids, one being recognised as that of King Arthur and the other the tomb of Queen Guinevere. There was still in the tomb of the queen a tress of most beautiful golden hair, and to Arthur's a tablet was attached—*Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arthurus in insula Avallonia.* The remains were reverently

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taken up and transferred to new tombs within the inclosure of the great church.

Bishop Reginald of Bath (1174-1191), was a great organiser of his diocese and the rebuilder of the cathedral church at Wells. In his design for a cathedral chapter at Wells he seems to have also endeavoured to further that effort to enforce his authority over the great monastic corporations in which his predecessor Giso had received so great a rebuff. The churches of the Glastonbury xii hides claimed to be exempt from the ordinary supervision of the Archdeacon of Wells because of the ancient privileges which had been conferred on the monastery as far back as the time of King Ine. So the parish churches of St. John's Glastonbury, Meare, Street, Butleigh, Shapwick, Moorlinch, and Sowey were thus withdrawn from any interference of the diocesan officials. Bishop Reginald, therefore, induced Abbot Robert of Winchester to place these churches under the immediate supervision of a special officer of the convent, to be known as the abbot's archdeacon, appointed by himself, and to answer to the bishop through the abbot. Then since the loss of these churches meant a permanent loss of income to the Archdeacon of Wells, Bishop Reginald induced the abbot to surrender the church of South Brent to permanently augment the stipend of the archdeacon.

Then Reginald went a step further and induced Abbot Robert to give the church of Pilton for the endowment of a prebend at Wells, and to accept for himself and his successors the *ex-officio* position of

a canon of Wells and a member of the bishop's chapter.

Of course if such an arrangement had continued, the bishop would have gained a distinct increase of authority over the Abbot of Glastonbury. But the convent was roused. They would not consent that their abbot should be the man of the bishop, for such he became on entering the chapter, and they compelled Abbot Robert to retire from the arrangement. Pilton, however, from that time became the property of the church of Wells, and the convent preferred the sacrifice to the humbling of their abbot.

We must now relate a further scheme by which the bishop of the diocese would enforce his authority over Glastonbury, a scheme which involved thirty years of bitter controversy and imposed upon the monastery an enormous debt.

Bishop Reginald was succeeded in 1192 by Bishop Savaric, a man of extraordinary influence and resource, and who, as a relation of the emperor Henry IV., had a good deal to do in the negotiations for the release of King Richard from prison. While still a captive he had been driven to consent to appoint Savaric to an English bishopric, and Savaric arranged that Reginald should be promoted to Canterbury and he should succeed him in Bath. He was then almost forced to give Savaric assistance in his desire to obtain from Pope Cœlestine authority to unite the monastery of Glastonbury to the See of Bath. It was for the sake of peace, and so Pope Cœlestine, knowing no better, sanctioned the plan. Savaric was therefore to be

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Bishop of Bath and *ex-officio* Abbot of Bath and Abbot of Glastonbury.

Henry de Sully was Abbot of Glastonbury, and he seems to have lent himself to the scheme on a promise of promotion. So, in the autumn of 1193, Abbot Henry went to London on the matter of his consecration as Bishop of Worcester, and his acceptance of this bishopric vacated the abbotship. Then Bishop Savaric, who was at Bath, sent for Prior Harold of Glastonbury to meet him there. On his arrival in November, Bishop Savaric asked the prior where his abbot was, and Harold innocently replied that he was in London. 'No,' answered Savaric, 'you are absolved from his authority, I am your abbot.' Thus did Savaric gain his end. The monks were powerless before the authority of the bishop, the king, and the pope, and so Savaric became Abbot of Glastonbury.

The story is told in great detail by the two Glastonbury chroniclers, Adam of Domerham and John of Glastonbury. The monks of course appealed, but Savaric obtained a second bull from Pope Cœlestine sanctioning the union. Meanwhile King Richard was released from captivity, and then openly encouraged the monks in their resistance, and Archbishop Hubert did not conceal his goodwill towards them. But Savaric's activity was remarkable, and the monks were continually being checked. They sent one of their number, William Pica, to Rome, and as his appeal was supported by the king he obtained a conditional licence for the monks to elect an abbot. Savaric then heard that a certain section

of the monastery had elected Pica as abbot, and immediately excommunicated him, and the archbishop and papal legate Pandulph endorsed the act. So William Pica and a brother monk, Eustace, went off to see King Richard in Normandy, and Savaric succeeds in having Eustace imprisoned but Pica escaped and went to Rome.

In 1199 King Richard died and was succeeded by King John, a friend of Savaric, and Savaric's course became easy. He was enthroned as abbot, June 8, 1199, and forty monks sign their names to a formal deed of submission.

At Rome, Abbot Pica obtained the removal of the sentence of excommunication, but he was not safe from the agents of Savaric, and his sudden death soon after was regarded by the monks of Glastonbury as due to the enmity of the bishop.

There were three distinct stages in the course of Bishop Savaric as Abbot of Glastonbury. He was no sooner appointed than the release of King Richard placed an obstacle in the way, so that he could not exert any real authority in the monastery. In 1199 the accession of King John made it easy for Savaric, and he ruled supreme as abbot. The king was on his side and the popes could not easily recall the repeated bulls of their predecessors. Then in 1202 Innocent III. became pope and Savaric again found a power that could thwart him. Three years afterwards Savaric died and was succeeded as bishop by Jocelyn, a canon of Wells and a man of very different temperament. For him Glastonbury was merely a

[illegible] right on

[illegible] of abbot

[illegible] must be a

[illegible] John to

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Episcopal office, the mitre, ring, dalmatic and sandals and the power to bless eucharistic garments and other ornaments and vestments for the services of the church. On May 30, 1219, Honorius III. reconferred this privilege on Abbot William.

We have stated above that Bishop Jocelyn obtained from King John in January 1215 the position of patron of the abbey. It is not clear why King John thus gave him so important a position. It made him not only official visitor of the abbey but it made all the convent practically his men. He was their tenant in chief, and they could only approach the Crown through him, their overlord. During a vacancy of the abbotship he was all powerful, and from him they would have to seek a licence to elect a successor. Certainly now Bishop Giso was amply avenged, and the bishop of the diocese had this powerful monastery in the hollow of his hand. He had moreover insisted, when the peace of Shaftesbury was ratified by the convent, that he should be recognised as bishop and possess the power to visit the monastery.

The consequences of this grant of the patronship to Jocelyn was shown when Abbot William died. The influence of the bishop was enforced, and by delegation Robert, the Prior of Bath, was chosen, though the monks expressly petitioned not to have him.

His successor, Abbot Michael de Ambresbury (1235-1252), began the movement to recover the four manors which the bishop had received when he gave up the abbotship, and endeavoured to have the

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question of patronship reconsidered. He doubtless considered that the grant of the manors was only for the lifetime of Bishop Jocelyn, and he appealed to Rome against Bishop Roger (1244-1247), but Bishop William Bytton (1248-1264) appealed himself to Rome and obtained a papal prohibition to stop the abbot from bringing his case into the secular courts. Abbot Michael was followed by Abbot Roger de Ford, a monk of Glastonbury, who, though chosen by the monks, soon became unpopular with them. His story is somewhat mysterious, but it shows the increasing power of the bishops. In 1254, on the aid being demanded by Henry III. for the marriage of Prince Edward with Eleanor of Castile, Bishop William Bytton paid the demand for the abbey, and through his bailiff levied the same on the abbey tenants. This was regarded by the monks as a surrender, by Abbot Roger, of his authority and the rights of the monastery, and they called in the bishop to visit the convent and depose the abbot. This the bishop did, but Roger was soon after reinstated by the Crown, and then Bishop Bytton excommunicated Abbot Roger. Meanwhile the abbot appealed to Rome, but his appeal was followed immediately by an appeal of the bishop. Abbot Roger was not only favoured by the Crown but had the goodwill of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the result was a five years' suit at Rome between the abbot and the bishop and the convent. Then in 1259 Pope Alexander IV. brought the matter to an end by replacing Roger de Ford as abbot under certain conditions. His

death soon after brought peace to the monks and a new abbot in Robert de Petherton.

Again a new abbot brought up the question of the patronship and the four manors, but the new bishop, Walter Giffard (1265-1267), being a great friend of Henry III., Petherton saw that he was powerless. He came, however, to an agreement with Bishop Giffard and his successor, Bishop W. Bytton II. The abbey seems to have recognised its position and was prepared, though very unwillingly, to surrender the four manors. But the patronship was a matter that concerned the Crown, and though Henry III. consented to Bishop Giffard's possession of it, Prince Edward was known to oppose it, and in 1272 he became king, and soon the death of Abbot Petherton in 1274 brought the matter to a crisis. At once the escheator of the Crown and the bailiff of the bishop entered into possession, and the king having given the monks licence to elect, did not hesitate to ratify their choice of brother John de Taunton. The next year Bishop Robert Burnell, the Chancellor of England, succeeded Bishop Bytton, and the whole controversy was ended by the permanent surrender by the monks of the four manors to the See of Bath and Wells, by the surrender to the Crown by the bishop of the patronship, and by the payment of 1000 marks which the king extracted from the monks for his assistance in the matter.

We must now return to the story of the rebuilding of the great church of the abbey. On account of its great debt it does not appear that any work was

begun until the time of Abbot Michael of Ambresbury (1235-1252). The foundations of the church had already been laid, and probably the walls had risen as far as the string course about three feet above the ground, and now visible on the outside of the north transept and the south choir aisle. The western wall of the church and the south wall of the nave aisle seem to be earlier than the eastern portions of the church, and it is possible that enough at least of this south wall was built to allow of the northern walk of the conventual cloisters being attached to it. Certainly the church was begun from the west, and the builders slowly advanced eastward all through the century. The west door was really a door leading from the open air into the great church. The Lady Chapel was separate from it about sixty feet to the west.

The nave was 220 feet long and was divided into ten bays, and the aisles of both the nave and choir were 20 feet wide. The central tower rested on four arches whose piers formed a square of 40 feet, and of these arches only the broken arch and pillars of the eastern side leading into the choir remain. We have then a nave with its aisles measuring 80 feet in width. The transepts extended 40 feet north and south of the nave and we measured a total length of 160 feet from north wall to south wall. On the eastern sides of the transepts, north and south, were two chapels 40 feet long and 20 feet broad running eastward parallel with the choir, and dividing the eastern wall of the transepts into two bays. In the

north transept the northern chapel was dedicated to our Lady, and the inner chapel was that of St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury. It is the only chapel that remains intact. In the south transept the southern chapel was dedicated to, or was known as, the Edgar Chapel, because it contained the remains of the great king, and the inner chapel was dedicated to St. Andrew.

The choir consisted of six bays in all: four bays beyond the eastern walls of the transept chapels and behind the high altar was a presbytery or ambulatory of two bays, running eastward for thirty feet, and extending from corner to corner of the prolongation of the north and south choir aisles. The church generally is in the early English style, but there are features which suggest a greater age, and the zigzag and other ornaments on it seem to prove that the builders desired as far as possible to make their style fit in with that of the twelfth century Lady Chapel. The north transept was certainly completed so far as to allow of the dedication of the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr before 1252, because Abbot Michael de Ambresbury was buried before that altar in that year, and during the second half of the thirteenth century three abbots, Michael of Ambresbury 1252, Robert of Petherton 1274, and John of Taunton 1291, were buried in the north transept.

The church was roofed in during the abbotship of Geoffrey Fromond (1303-1322), and since the church was dedicated 29th December 1303 it is clear by that time the high altar was set up in the choir. His

successor, Abbot Sodbury (1323-1334), vaulted the nave and Abbot Monington (1342-1375) vaulted the choir and presbytery, and completed the retro-aisle and its five easternmost chapels. Here it was in this sacred spot behind the high altar that they laid the remains of the two kings, Eadmund the Magnificent and Eadmund Ironside, and those of the great hero of the Celtic resistance Arthur, the Ard-ri who defeated the Saxons in 520 at the battle of Mons Badonicus.

We must now go back to the space left unbuilt on between the Lady Chapel and the great church. There had been some difficulty with it because of the two pyramids that indicated the tomb of King Arthur. When, however, in 1191 this hero's remains were transferred within the enclosure of the great church, there was not so great an objection in dealing with it. The space was nearly sixty feet, and apparently under Abbot Michael de Ambresbury the task of covering it in was begun. We have, however, no record of this work, and can only decide by inspection of so much of the walls as remain. It is clearly early, and has been built as much as possible after the style of the Lady Chapel. It connected the two churches, so that the great church and its presbytery, the ante-chapel and the chapel of St. Mary, covered an extent of five hundred feet of ground. This ante-chapel or Galilee seems to have been built into the west wall of the great church, and was an extension of the Lady Chapel. It consisted of three bays, and in the central bay north and south, opposite to each other, were the entrance doors by which worshippers could enter and

WEST DOORWAY OF NAVE AND ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.

make their way into the great church. The length of the eastern bay of the Galilee was occupied by a flight of steps which lead up from the lower level of the Lady Chapel to the higher level of the church beyond. The eastern wall of the Lady Chapel was then pulled down, its position is shown by the south-east turret which is still standing, and with the exception of the altar of the Lady Chapel there was, for a time, a clear view from the high altar to the western wall of this earlier chapel of the Virgin Mary. It seems probable also that the altar of the Lady Chapel was advanced eastward into the Galilee, especially after the time when the crypt below was formed. The larger windows, however, the buttresses and

the use of the trefoil arch in the panel decorations and in the door arches show the later date of the ante-chapel.

Just before the promotion of Henry de Sully to the bishopric of Worcester, he had searched near the pyramid monuments for the remains of King Arthur, and in 1191 had found them. In the spring of 1278 Glastonbury was honoured with a visit from Edward I. and his consort, Queen Eleanor. They came in Holy week, and Archbishop Mepeham followed them the next day, and on Easter Eve administered Holy Orders in the church of the abbey. On Monday in Easter week Edward I. proposed to hold an assize at Glastonbury, but this caused so great distress among the monks that at the request of the abbot, John of Taunton, and of Archbishop Mepeham the assize was removed to Street. The monastery regarded it almost as sacrilege and certainly an infringement of their ancient privileges for so evident a proof of the power of the Crown to be given so near to the venerable chapel of the Virgin. On the day following, Tuesday in Easter week, the abbot had the graves of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere reopened for the inspection of royalty. The inspection took place towards evening. The coffins were found to be painted with various figures and scenes, and the skeleton of Arthur showed him to have been a man of unusual size. On the morrow the king and queen had the bones of the hero and his wife reverently wrapt in costly clothes and replaced in their coffins.

From this time onwards we lose sight of King Arthur. He was no longer a name to conjure with.

In the fourteenth century another treasure was discovered, and the monastery never ceased until the dissolution to magnify its value.

The legend of St. Joseph of Arimathea and the Holy Grail had slowly been drawn towards Glastonbury. Men could get no historic facts to guide them and they surrendered themselves to theory. That dim and ancient Celtic legend, whatever it meant, and not one line has been written to show that in the fourteenth century men had divined its significance, had at any rate lingered over Glastonbury long before any records that existed, and if the Holy Grail was none other than the ancient cauldron of Regeneration, and the Holy Grail was brought to Britain by St. Joseph, then in Glastonbury the bones of St. Joseph must have been laid. One form of the legend had stated that St. Joseph brought the Grail to the palace of Arthur. It was the link which connected the two names. However, in the fourteenth century, the desire to find the tomb of St. Joseph was abroad, and in 1345 John Blome of London dreamed that he had been divinely instructed to go and search at Glastonbury for the burial-place of St. Joseph of Arimathea. Edward III. sanctioned the project, and granted the man a licence to begin his search, and Blome and the monks, of course all eager to help him, began the inquiry without delay. The Patent Roll which sanctioned it is dated 10th June 1345. The search does not seem at first to have been very successful. The inquiry was too notorious, and success could not be expected until times became less inter-

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ested and inquisitive. But it was successful. The chronicler R. de Boston tells us, under the year 1367, that the tomb and remains of St. Joseph were found in that year. Certainly from that date the monks began to exploit their treasure to the utmost of their power. A shrine of great beauty was prepared for the hallowed remains, and they were solemnly placed in the chapel of the Virgin Mary, and at once it became a place of pilgrimage. Everything was done to attract. It is needless to say that miracles began to occur with remarkable frequency. The life of St. Joseph, printed by Pynson in 1520, gives us the story as it had been fully developed by the monks in the fifteenth century. They could not say enough on the wonderful cures that had been wrought at the tomb. Testimony to its sanctity was abundant. So the ancient chapel of the Virgin Mary, the one relic of ancient British Christianity which had given the monastery all claim that it ever had to special privilege and respect, was forgotten in the face of the marvels of the shrine and the cures that were worked when the tomb had been erected, and ere the monastery was suppressed in 1539, in popular language if not in the language of the monks, the building had changed its name and has ever since been known not as the Chapel of the Virgin but as the Chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea. As we have said in another chapter it was reported in 1662 by Mr. Ray that the tomb was even then existing, and that he had seen it. The statement, however, is difficult to accept, and further explanation is impossible.

Was it because of the burrowing in search of these remains, or was it as the result of the building of the shrine in the chapel of St. Mary that the crypt came into existence? The crypt extends for two bays under the antechapel, that is to say for a considerable distance through that sixty feet of ground between the two churches, of ground where had been the tomb of Arthur. The question cannot be answered, but the crypt is not ancient. It belongs to the fifteenth century, and was formed probably as a place for sepulture for those who were prepared to pay for the privilege of having their bones laid near the bones of St. Joseph. The foundations of the chapel had not been made with the idea of a crypt below the chapel, and so the crypt could not be dug very deep, and the necessary height for the flat perpendicular vaulting was only obtained by raising the height of the chapel floor some eighteen inches or two feet. The well at the side is known as St. Dunstan's well, but there is no old work in it, and its real story cannot be discovered.

It is interesting to consider how it came about that England generally began to believe in the legend of St. Joseph of Arimathea. Local legends have great influence in their own neighbourhood, but not as a rule all over England. It seems to have burst into popularity soon after the Council of Basel, 1431. At that Council there had been great discussion as to the claim of the English church to be regarded as a nation distinct from the Gallican church. There was great bitterness felt between the English and French people,

Wells and Glastonbury

and the Hundred Years' War did not leave the English people inclined to be placed second to those of France. The question ultimately turned on the date of the introduction of Christianity into the two countries. Bishop Hallam of Salisbury and Bishop Bubwith of Bath and Wells were two of the English delegates, and were well aware of the claims of the Glastonbury monks. So when the French bishops demanded precedence because St. Dionysius the Areopagite had been the apostle of Gaul, the English delegates counter claimed it on the authority that St. Joseph of Arimathea was the apostle of Britain. From that day it became a question of patriotism to accept or to doubt the legend, and so the myth grew, and for a hundred years obtained general acceptance. An archdeacon of Wells, Polydore Vergil, was the first to ridicule the legend. At the request of Henry VIII. he had in 1534 written his *Historia Anglica*, and the doubts he cast on the popular legend were only explained by the fact that he was not an Englishman, and therefore could not understand that about which he had written.

We must now turn to the conventual buildings as distinct from the two historic churches whose story we have related. The abbey has been largely used not merely as a quarry whence good squared stone was sold to the people in the town for the building of their own houses, but also because great blocks of masonry made good foundations for the roads across the moors. So it happens that but little of the conventual buildings remain, and unfortunately no

description of any completeness, or plan belonging to mediæval times, exists to guide us. But the general arrangement of Benedictine monasteries was much the same, and what we do know of Glastonbury tends to show us that, with the exception of the Lady Chapel being to the west instead of to the east of the great Church, the monastery of Glastonbury followed the usual rule. The south wall of the nave aisle shows evidence of buildings having been attached to it on the outside, and what we see is clearly the traces of the north walk of the cloister. These cloisters enclosed an area 491 feet long by 220 feet broad. From the eastern walk there was an entrance into the south transept. As one went from the church into the eastern cloister one came on the left first of all to the slype, a small passage room and then the chapter-house, and beyond the chapter-house was in all probability the monks' dormitory. South of the southern walk of the cloisters was the great monastic hall, 111 feet long and 51 feet broad, with the library, the monks' kitchen, lavatories, and store rooms. Then in the western cloister were certain chambers of the priors of which there were three. The Prior himself had in his lodging a hall, a buttery, a kitchen, a chapel, two private chambers and a bakehouse. The Almoner, whose lodgings were also to the west of the western cloister and between it and the abbot's kitchen, had four chambers, and the Firmarius had seven chambers and a chapel. The sacristy, which probably was in the church or ante-chapel, contained the vestments for those monks who

The Abbey in Mediæval Times

were priests and for the large body of chantry chaplains, who were called upon to say the choir offices day and night, and had each to say mass day by day. The sacristy was hung with green say, so probably the vestments were hung on pegs round the walls. The prior was often called upon, even while the abbot was in residence, to entertain guests. There were therefore certain guest chambers near the prior's lodging, but the exact position of these is not known. The prior's guests would be priors of other monasteries or secular canons of collegiate or cathedral churches. Monks passing through on the business of their own convents would naturally fare with the monks of the house, if their letters of credence were satisfactory. The almoner's lodging and the almonry were distinct, but they must have been adjacent buildings. The almonry lay between the abbot's kitchen and the Lady Chapel, and the almoner's lodging probably between it and the western cloister. The cloisters did not extend west as far as the end of the nave, and there was therefore a space which must have been covered with some of these conventual buildings which have been mentioned. At the almonry was distributed daily the charity of the monastery, the doles of food that were given to the poor of the neighbourhood. The monastery had been intrusted with endowments for the special benefit of the poor, and in the survey of 1535 they are valued at £140, 16s. 8d. a year, and are specified as the benefactions of Kings Arthur and Lucius, the first Christian kings of Britain, of Henry VII. and of Queen Guine-

THE ABBOT'S KITCHEN, WEST SIDE

vere and some English noblemen. This sum represents a considerable amount of money, and was enough to draw large crowds of poor daily to the almonry.

A remarkable conical-shaped building to the south of the almonry, of which we give here an illustration, is the abbot's kitchen. It is not the kitchen of the monks but that of the abbot's household for the preparation and cooking of food for the members of his household and for the numerous guests of importance

that were continually passing through on their way westward, or on their way towards Oxford or London. This kitchen was begun by Abbot Fromond (1303-1322), and completed by his successor, John de Breynton (1334-1342). There are four fireplaces at the four corners, and in one of them is an oven for baking bread. This kitchen should be compared with the only other one of this kind in England, viz., that at Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire. It forms an exact square of forty feet, becoming octagonal above, and the top of the lantern, which forms the centre of the roof, is seventy-four feet high.

Beyond the kitchen were the abbot's lodgings, of which we have some description, but of which no vestige now remains. This fine pile of buildings, for such they undoubtedly were, are assigned to Abbot Selwood (1456-1493), and consisted of a great chamber, 72 feet long by 24 feet broad, which was known as the king's chambers, probably because Henry VII. lodged in it in 1497, when he made his progress through Somerset to establish the loyalty of his subjects, and to punish those who had shown any favour to the rebel Perkin Warbeck. The abbot had five chambers for his private use, and for his guests there were the king's lodgings which consisted of four chambers, a wardrobe and two inner rooms. This very fine pile of buildings existed as late as the second half of the eighteenth century, but has now entirely disappeared.

Another set of buildings to the south-east of the monastery was the infirmary, with its own chapel and

kitchen. It lay apart from the general bustle and activity of the convent, and offered rest and refreshment to monks whose health had broken down. It lay to the east of the chapter-house and a little south-east of the choir of the great church. The foundations may possibly be discovered under the present private garden.

Abbot Frome in 1420 surrounded the abbey with a high wall, and the precincts thus surrounded comprised about thirty-six acres. The chief entrance to the abbey was on the western side in Magdalen Street, and the gateway was lofty and vaulted and had a chamber over it for the use of the porter. What remains of it has since been built into the present Red Lion Inn. There was another entrance on the north side where was also a porter's lodging. Between the entrance lodge and the almonry there seems to have been a small courtyard, where the poor were gathered and marshalled for their passage through the almonry.

In 1450 William Wyrcestre, a native of Bristol, a man of considerable antiquarian attainments and who afterwards settled down in Norfolk with Sir John Falstaff, paid a visit to Glastonbury and made observations and measurements which are remarkably accurate. He estimated the choir as 126 feet long and the width with the two aisles as 72 feet. The retro-aisle was 30 feet from west to east. He says also that on the north side of the choir were six large tall glazed windows and the same on the south side of the choir, and each window has six lights and

therefore there are seventy-two small lights in all. There are on either side of the choir aisles eight windows.

He then adds that the space behind the altar to the east was divided up by five columns and between each column or bay was a chapel with its altar. The length of each chapel was five yards and the space between the columns and the high altar, *i.e.* the ambulatory was also five yards. In 1533 John Leland, the antiquary, who was Henry Eighth's librarian, was commissioned by Henry to undertake an antiquarian tour through the south-west of England. In his journeys he came more than once to Glastonbury and saw what was to be seen in the time of the last abbot, Richard Whyting, when the abbey and its church were in the fulness of their splendour. He made careful notes of the monuments and also of what he heard as to the builders of the different parts of the monastery. Unfortunately he never sorted and arranged his notes, and many of them were destroyed. They are, however, as far as they go, of great archæological value. In his account of the work of Abbot Beere (1493-1524) he tells us that the piers and supports of the great central tower had begun to cast out and how the abbot had inserted under the faulty arches smaller St. Andrew's arches in the north and south transepts, similar to those at Wells. There was apparently no need of such across the choir arch, the wall of the screen probably acting as a sufficient support to keep the piers straight.

Abbot Beere is said also by Leland to have made

the Edgar Chapel at the east end of the church, and also, on his return from an embassy to the emperor in Italy, a chapel to our Lady of Loretto in the north transept. These were not, probably, great structural additions, but the fitting up as chapels of those bays of the transepts that were apparently vacant.

Up to that time the great central tower was doubtless open to view up to its roof. Now, having put in his supporting arches and buttresses in the triforium, Abbot Beere vaulted in the space between the four tower arches. He founded also a chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in the nave.

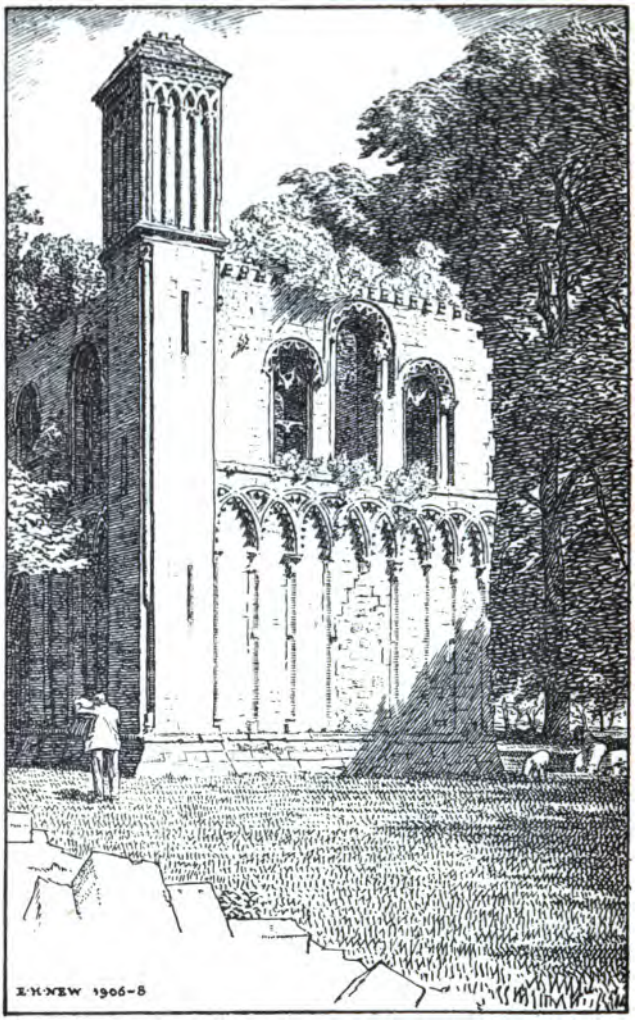
Another great work of this abbot, as reported by Leland, is not so easy to understand. He says that Abbot Beere arched on both sides the east part of the church which had begun to cast out. This seemed to refer to the outer walls of the chapels behind the high altar to which in all probability Beere added some external buttresses with possibly flying buttresses over the roof of the ambulatory to the vaulting of the choir itself. The rood-loft and screen across the choir he assigned to Abbot Walter of Taunton in 1322, on which was placed a large cross with the figure of our Lord and St. Mary and St. John on either side, and ten other images, and he says that Abbot Walter de Monington added two bays to the four in the choir, and he admired, as had William Wyrcestre the six pairs of splendid windows in the clerestory of the choir. This statement, however, seems incorrect. The choir had been finished and the altar set up and

the church dedicated before the time of Monington, and it seems probable that Monington's work was the addition of the two bays of the ambulatory and its chapels.

There is a tradition in Wells which, however, has been lately disproved, that the celebrated clock in the north transept of the cathedral church formed part of the spoils of Glastonbury Abbey. Wells, however, possessed the clock two hundred years before the suppression of the monastery. It may, nevertheless, be so far true that the clock was made at Glastonbury. There was a skilful clockmaker among the monks under Abbot Adam de Sodbury (1323-1334), Peter Lightfoot by name, who made for the monastic church a horologe with remarkable processions and figures. It is possible he made a second of a similar character with a tournament rather than a procession which was given to or purchased by the dean and canons of Wells.

Glastonbury has always been so much before the eye of England that it never seems to have fallen into an indolent or ignorant state. Learning and literature was always patronised, and the chroniclers of the abbey record the gifts by various abbots of large collections of books, and the activity of the priors in encouraging the transcription of others. The library of a mediæval monastery consisted at first of chests of books kept in the cloisters or of collections of books stored in cupboards in the walls of the north cloister. It was at first only an armariolum, and to this Abbot Henry of Blois added a most valuable and

varied collection of books. John of Taunton (1274-1291) is said by Adam of Domerham to have made a library very good, fair, and commodious—*librarium fecit optimum pulcherrimum et copiosum.* Abbot Walter de Taunton (1322) was a great benefactor to this, and John of Glastonbury gives us the names of several other abbots and priors and friends who contributed to enrich the monastery with books. When Leland visited the monastery he was greatly struck with its noble library. He says he no sooner got over the threshold of the library than he was struck with devotion and astonishment at the great antiquity of the books, and for that reason he for a time stayed his steps. Then he saluted the genius of the place, and for some days diligently examined the shelves and cupboards. He mentions a few of the MSS. by name, but they were rather curious than important. He rightly, however, concluded that the excellency of the library was largely due to the well-arranged scriptorium or copying-room of the abbey.



ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL, WEST END

CHAPTER XII

THE ABBEY, ITS DISSOLUTION AND AFTER HISTORY

WHEN the abbot and his monks accepted in 1534 the Act of Supremacy and the Act which regulated the Succession to the Crown, the monastery was for a time once more secure. The following year, however, there was a great survey and re-assessment of all the property of the church, whether monastic or secular, and the inquiries for the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 opened the way for others. The vicar-general had received authority to visit and report on the religious houses of England, and Cromwell's commissioners seem to have visited Glastonbury on several occasions in 1535. In August Dr. Richard Layton arrived and not for the first time. He perceived that the task before him was difficult, because the house was well conducted and the abbot a man of blameless life. He wrote, therefore, that month to Cromwell —'there was nothing notable; the brethren be so straight kept that they cannot offend; but fain they would if they might as they confess, and so the fault is not with them.' Meanwhile Abbot Whyting endeavoured to secure the favour of Cromwell by

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presenting him with certain advowsons and corrodies. He gave him the pension of £5 a year which Sir Thomas More had enjoyed, and since there was £5 still owing to More, he sent him this arrear, and another £5 up to next Michaelmas. His friend also, Sir John Fitzjames, wrote on his behalf to try and turn the face of the vicar-general in favour towards him. Under the terms of his visitatorial powers, Dr. Layton had decided to separate the abbot from the monks, and to examine both apart from each other. They were being treated not as merely accused of monasticism, but as under some suspicion as if monasticism had been declared in any way to be wrong. Abbot Whyting was therefore ordered to confine himself to the abbot's lodging, and for the greater part of the interval before the dissolution to the abbot's lodging at Sharpham, about two miles off. In October the poor abbot wrote to Cromwell for some relief from such an intolerable position. He was held responsible for the good government of the convent, and yet he could not exercise his authority in a proper manner. Dr. Layton, however, was much impressed by Abbot Whyting, and seems to have written somewhat in his praise, for he fell under the displeasure of his master. No scandal could be discovered, and against his interests and probably against his instructions, he had shown in his report his estimate of the abbot's character. During 1536 and 1537, the abbot strove in vain to gain friends by offering manors, shooting rights, and other gifts to Cromwell and those around him. The

Act of 1536 had given into the king's hands such monasteries as were under £200 a year, or such as should be given or granted to his majesty by any abbot within a year after the making of this Act. On all sides monasteries were being closed, and Abbot Whyting must have felt the need for caution on the part of himself and his monks. In September 1537 we find Dr. Layton apologising for his report, which was so unwelcome—'wher as I understande by Mr. Pollarde ye much marvill whie I wolde so greatlie praise to the king's majestie at the time of the visitacion the abbot of Glaston henseforth I shal be more circumspecte whom I shall commende either to his grace or to your lordshippe.'

The Act of 1539 by a retrospective clause legalised the suppression of those larger monasteries which had been already dissolved and confirmed to the Crown the spoils which had been accumulated from them. It also conferred on the Crown such other religious houses as shall happen to come to the king's highness by attainder or attainders of treason. Dr. Layton seems already to have recognised the impossibility of inducing Abbot Whyting to surrender his monastery, and he had given up any idea of discovering such scandals as would justify the suppression in the cause of morality. There remained this last possibility of drawing the abbot into some act which could be construed as treasonable. They had suppressed all the other monasteries in Somerset, and from April 1539 to November in that year, Glastonbury stood alone. That it was determined

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to suppress all the monasteries must have been quite clear to the abbot's mind, and already the commissioners were acting on this purpose. In May Pollard, Petre, and Tregonwell, who had been busy abstracting from the monasteries their superfluous plate, sent up to London from the west of England 493 ounces of gold, 16,000 ounces of gilt plate and 28,700 ounces of silver gilt. Beyond, however, these visits for the sake of plunder, nothing seems to have been done during the summer of this year. The abbot had apparently been allowed a freer intercourse with the monks, and could go from the monastery to Sharpham and back as he chose. On September 19, another set of commissioners, Dr. Layton, Pollard, and Moyle, came to Glastonbury without having sent notice of their intention to the abbot. Something had happened, of which there is no record, but it appears as if Abbot Whyting had been given to understand that he must either surrender or face a very searching trial, and his resistance had called now for this, which Cromwell meant to be the last attack on this monastic stronghold. When the commissioners arrived, the abbot was at Sharpham. So they at once went there and brought him back, their prisoner, to Glastonbury. Having confined him in the abbot's lodging, they proceeded to dismiss his servants, and then searched for such valuable plate as they could find. Naturally such would be put carefully away in cupboards or chests under lock and key. They decided, however, that such had been intentionally hidden, and so they wrote

—'we have found a fair chalice of gold and divers other parcells of plate which the abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners as have been there in times past, whereby we think he ought to make his hand by this untruth to his King's majesty.' So in the month of September, Abbot Whyting was sent up to London and lodged in the Tower, charged more or less indefinitely with high treason. Again in this month the commissioners wrote to Cromwell of the plate they had discovered, enough to found a new monastery, and all was hidden in secret places in the abbey. In October a second harvest was sent up by Tregonwell from Glastonbury, 71 ounces of gold with precious stones, 7214 ounces of silver gilt plate, and 6387 ounces of silver plate. Then in his absence they ransacked the abbot's library, and report that they had found there a book containing arguments against the divorce of Queen Katherine, and also a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury. These were made the most of, and they reported to Cromwell that they had come to the knowledge of divers and sundry treasons committed by the abbot. In London also great diligence was shown that enough might be discovered to procure Abbot Whyting's condemnation. Cromwell in his private Remembrancer book had noted down (1) that the Councillors to give evidence against the abbot of Glaston were to be Richard Pollard, Lewis Forstell, and Thomas Moyle, and (2) that the evidence was to be well sorted and the indictments well drawn against the said abbots and their accomplices, and (3) that the Abbot of Glaston

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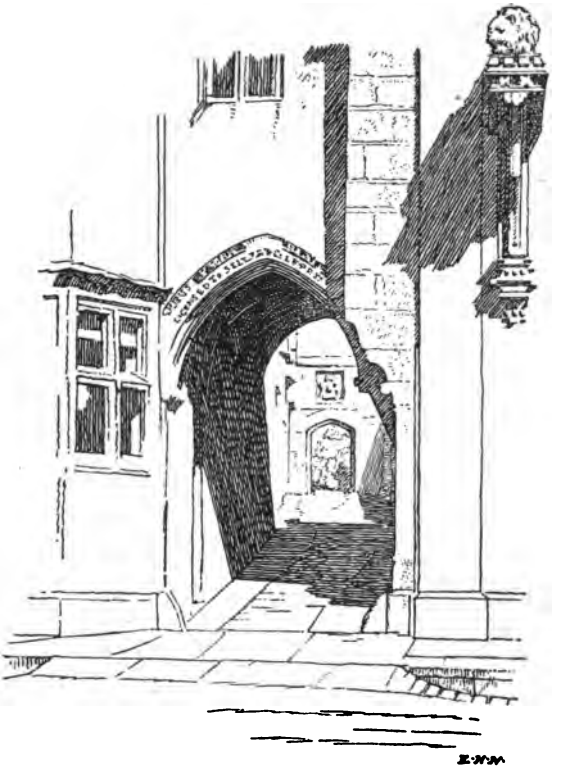
should be tried at Glaston and also executed there with his accomplices.

It is not easy to make out the exact procedure of the trial. The decision was made very public, but the charges and the evidence have never appeared and do not seem to exist. The commissioners at Glastonbury seem to have been occupied in cross-questioning the tenants and sending up to Cromwell their version of the admissions the poor people were frightened into making.

Meanwhile the Assizes were about to be held in Wells, and Cromwell was negotiating with Lord Russell that the facts should be stated and the judgment should be delivered in Wells. He was anxious that in Wells a jury should be gathered, which would bring in a verdict without any hesitation according to the wishes of the Crown.

So on November 14, 1539, Abbot Whyting was brought to Wells with his two fellow monks, John Thom and Roger James. What actually occurred has never been recorded. There does not appear to be any evidence that there ever was a trial in Wells. What actually occurred was the formal acceptance by the Somerset jury of what had been decided in London. He arrived in Wells as one condemned. It only remained that he should be sentenced, and if that had not been done in London it was done in Wells on November 14. Then, on November 15, Whyting and his two comrades were taken to Glastonbury and drawn to the Tor where they were hung, and afterwards, in accordance with the custom of the



* THE ABBEY GATEHOUSE

time, the abbot's body was beheaded and quartered. His head was placed over the gateway of the abbey, and his mutilated corpse was distributed to Wells, Bath, Bridgewater, and Ilchester.

Meanwhile in London, Cromwell was reckoning the

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spoils of Glastonbury which had recently come to his hands—the plate of Glastonbury, 11,000 ounces and over, besides golden, the furniture of the house at Glastonbury, in ready money £1100 and over, the rich copes from Glaston, the whole year's revenues, and sums due to the abbey, £2000 and more. In Glastonbury itself another survey was being made by Richard Pollard and Thomas Moyle. The assessment of 1535 did not satisfy, and they return the yearly income of the abbey as £4085, 6s. 8d. instead of £3311, 7s. 4d. Thus fell the most ancient, and in every way the most interesting of the monasteries of England. It was the only link which in England existed between the English and the British church, and as it began in times before the Saxon invasion, so it was the last to fall before the greed of the destroyer.

The day after the execution, Lord Russell, who had managed the affair so completely to his master's satisfaction, wrote to Cromwell the following letter:—

'My Lord, this shal be to assertayn that on Thursday, the 14th day of this present moneth, the abbot of Glastonburye was arrayned, and the next day put to execution with two others of his monkes for the robbyng of Glastonburyes Chirche on the Torre Hille nexte unto the town of Glastonburye; the sayd abbot's bodye being devyded in fower parts and hedde stryken off: whereof one quarter stondyeth at Welles, another at Bathe, and at Ylchester and Bruggewater, the rest and his head upon the abbey gate of Glastonburye.

J. Russell.'

A considerable part of the Gate House still remains and forms part of the Red Lion Inn of which we give here a sketch.

The Abbey, its Dissolution and After History

The survey of Pollard and Moyle gives us considerable information concerning the woods, fisheries, and scranneries of the abbey. There were on the estates 1274 able men always in readiness to serve the king, and there were also still 271 men in servile condition, bondmen they are called, whose very existence tends to prove the lightness of the abbey yoke. In the fifteenth century it would have been a comparatively easy matter to redeem oneself had they thought it worth while. For eight years after the dissolution of the monastery, the abbey buildings, the manor, and the estates generally remained in the hands of the Crown. There were many requests to purchase, and many of the distant manors were sold before the death of Henry VIII.

In 1547, on the accession of Edward VI., the site of the Abbey and the Manor of Glastonbury was granted to Edward, Duke of Somerset, and in order to make use of the buildings and to supply employment for the labouring classes who were wont to serve the monastery and who naturally had suffered much on account of its suppression, he introduced here a colony of Flemings in the summer of 1550. As their guardian he appointed Henry Cornish the Keeper of Wyrrall Park. There were thirty-four families and six spinsters, and soon after ten more families were brought here.

These were settled in the precincts of the abbey, and thirty tenements were to be prepared for them,

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and they were promised five acres a family on Wyrrall Hill for the support of two cows, and the duke lent them £482 for their immediate need. He also promised to make them a yearly allowance until they had settled down successfully. They had as their chaplain Vallerandus Pullanus, who bore the title of 'Superintendent of the stranger's church at Glastenbury.' The duke's troubles, attainder, and execution in 1552, prevented him from supporting them, and at last brought them into the hands of the Crown. He had nominally protected them, and he had appointed Henry Cornish, his keeper of Wyrrall Park, as their guardian. Cornish, however, had got a grant of the park for himself, and refused to allow them their allotments of land, and this even in the duke's lifetime. The people of Glastonbury also were by no means friendly. They regarded the strangers as rivals and did what they could to rob them. So Vallerandus sent letters to the council by Peter Wolf, a Brabanter, and Stephen le Provost, a deacon of the church, and Sir William Cecil, the secretary, was certainly friendly to them. They were weavers and made a kind of kersey and cloth of that nature. The council issued instruction to Bishop Barlow, Sir Thomas Dyer, Sir John St. Lo and Alex. Popham to take an interest in them and report on what was necessary and further the industry of the strangers. Sir Edward Dyer of Street arranged to supply them with wool at a reasonable price and not at the extortionate price they had been compelled to purchase, and since twenty-three of the houses

promised had neither door, roof, nor window, thirty tenements within the abbey were ordered to be at once made thoroughly habitable for them.

The commissioners, after inquiry, had reported well of these Flemings or Walloons, and said they were very godly and were ready to instruct and teach others their craft. So the building was taken up again and Robert Hiet of Street was attached to the superintendent, and Sir Ralph Hopton was appointed surveyor of plans with instructions to see that the empty houses were appropriated to the weavers and the park at Wyrrall of two hundred acres was to be divided up among them, they undertaking to pay to the Crown a yearly rent of £10. Cornish, the duke's agent, was apparently passed over, and since the interests of Cornish and the weavers in Wyrrall Park now clashed, the weavers found in him anything but a friend. In addition to the park a house to the north of the abbey was given them and some more land on the southern slope of the hill and two dye houses for dyeing and calendering their worsteds were assigned to them in the precincts and on the south side of the monastic buildings.

Thus encouraged, they began to hope for the future, and requested and obtained letters of denization, and yet further obtained letters-patent authorising their Leiturgia or Form of Public Worship, and also confirming again the establishment of their craft. They thus became the first local trade guild with a royal patent for their protection.

The death of Edward VI., however, put an end to

this enterprise. These Walloons were exiles from a Catholic country, and Queen Mary and her Council were not disposed to allow them to remain in England. In September 1553 letters from the Council were sent to Sir John Sydnam to go to Glastonbury and hand to these poor people their letters of licence to depart the realm, and Sir John was ordered to see that the Walloons made no spoil of their houses before they departed.

Meanwhile, what had become of the monks of Glastonbury? Some in priests' orders probably obtained promotion to benefices in the diocese. There had been no arrangement between the abbot and convent and the Crown, so that each monk might have received a settled income for the rest of his life. The fortunes of the monks fell with the attainder of their abbot. Queen Mary seems, however, to have made search for some of them, and in Cardinal Pole's pension-list the names of twenty-three appear in 1553. Some of them had entered the refounded abbey of Westminster, and it was known that the queen desired to found other monasteries in England. On 21st November 1556 four of the old Glastonbury monks sent an earnest petition from Westminster to Queen Mary begging her to refound the abbey where they buried 'St. Joseph of Arymathia, who took down the dead body of our Saviour Christ from the cross.' Their request is very pathetic. They do not ask for money or lands. They desire merely to have the site of the monastery where they had lived. Such land as they needed they would pay an accustomed rent for—

'so that with our labour and husbandry, we may live there a few of us in our religious habits till the charity of good people may suffice a greater number: and the country there being so affected to our religion, we believe we should find much help amongst them, towards the reparation and furniture of the same.' The abbot, they say, was 'preposterously put to death, with two innocent, virtuous monks with him.' The writers of the letter were John Phagan, John Nott, William Adelwold, and William Kentwyns.

Whatever the queen may have contemplated, the task was too great for her. The subtle policy of Henry VIII. in granting numerous short leases and afterwards grants of the freehold when the leases should run out, had created a powerful interest in the country against any restoration, and Queen Mary was neither popular nor strong enough to oppose it. So the abbey site remained in her hands until her death, and the accession of Queen Elizabeth destroyed any further hope. On 6th June 1559 the new queen granted the site of the monastery and all its buildings, and the manor of Glastonbury and the park at Wyrrall to Sir Peter Carew, knight, and to his heirs male, and on his death and the failure of heirs it again reverted to the Crown. Again in 1571, November 30, Queen Elizabeth granted the site etc. to Thomas, Earl of Sussex, and confirmed the grant on 20th November 1581. Thomas, Earl of Sussex, died in 1583 and his heir and brother Henry, fifth Earl of Sussex, in 1594, and on 23rd May 1596 Thomas, the sixth earl, sold the site of the monastery and Wyrrall

Park to William Stone, who, on 28th June 1596, conveyed it to William, Earl of Devonshire. The actual indenture is dated 28th June 1599.

In 1773 William, Duke of Devonshire, sold the site and buildings of the former monastery to Thomas Bladen of London for £12,700.

In 1908 the site and such of the ruins of the monastery as exist, except the abbot's kitchen which had been separated from the other ruins in 1806 and sold to others, were sold by Mr. Stanley Austin to the Bishop of Bath and Wells and two others as trustees of a fund to preserve the precincts and the ruins for ever in the hands of the Church of England.

The ruins which attract the visitor of to-day give us some idea of the beauty and magnificence of this great abbey and its splendid church. The monastic church, which the guardian of the convent under instructions from Henry II. had planned, was 423 feet long and 135 feet wide across the transepts. The chapel of the Virgin Mary was 53 feet long and 24 feet wide, while the antechapel was about the same length but considerably broader. At present there still remains the walls of the Lady Chapel, the two eastern piers of the central tower of the great church, a portion of the walls of the south choir aisle, and a fragment of the north choir aisle as it runs eastward from the north transept. In the north transept and on its eastern side there is the bay containing the chapel of St. Thomas à Becket and a portion of the bay which contained the chapel of St. Mary of Loretto. To the west the arch of the entrance from the Galilee into the great church

with a portion of the wall above is still standing. The abbot's kitchen stands all alone to the south-west of the church and, as far as the walls and roof are concerned, is intact. The cloisters were to the east and north of this and enclosed an area 491 feet long and 220 feet broad. To the south of the cloisters was the great hall of the abbey, 111 feet long and 51 feet broad.

To the south-west of the conventual buildings were the abbot's lodging containing five chambers for the abbot's private use, a great hall 72 feet long and 24 feet wide, four chambers, known as the king's lodgings, with rooms of convenience attached. The whole of this portion of the abbey was probably connected with the abbot's kitchen by passages which have now perished. The prior also had his private set of buildings, six in number, with a chapel, the farmèrer had also six chambers and a chapel, the almoner another set of chambers, and there were also groups of chambers assigned to the sexton and the fratery. Two chambers were known as the bishop's, a reminiscence of the close connection that had existed between the convent and the bishop of the diocese.

The chapel of the Virgin Mary, that which represented the *vetusta ecclesia*, the old church of pre-English days and which held the shrine or tomb of St. Joseph of Arimathea, was never known in the days of the monastery except as the Lady Chapel. The title, St. Joseph of Arimathea's chapel, is one which the building has acquired since the days of the monks. He never had a chapel. This tomb was the great

treasure of the old western Lady Chapel. As late as 1662 Mr. Ray, the antiquary, says that he saw the tomb of St. Joseph in the Lady Chapel. The vaulting of the crypt below was therefore still intact.

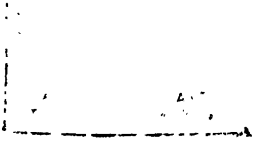
In a letter of 12th September 1705 it was stated that some part of the abbot's apartments was lately standing, but had since been taken down and a neat new house built from its materials on the south-west in the shape of the letter E looking west. It was three storeys high and had in front ten large stone-mullioned windows on each floor. The entrance was reached by a flight of six stone steps. The state-rooms were panelled in oak. On 28th April 1716 it is recorded that no marks of the cloister were any longer to be seen. In 1719 Samuel Gale reported to Brown Willis that the transepts and three arches of the south cross remain, and also that both the walls and the side aisles of the choir existed containing eight windows each, and that at the east end three feet of the wall was visible above the rubbish. Four years afterwards, in 1723, Stukeley wrote as follows—'as yet these are magnificent ruins, but within a lustrum of years a presbyterian tenant has made more barbarous havoc than there had been since the dissolution, for every week a pillar or buttress, a window jamb or an angle of fine-hewn stone is sold to the best bidder. Whilst I was there they were excoriating St. Joseph's Chapel for that purpose, and the squared stones were laid up by lots in the abbot's kitchen, the rest goes to paving yards and stalls for cattle and for the highway. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*'

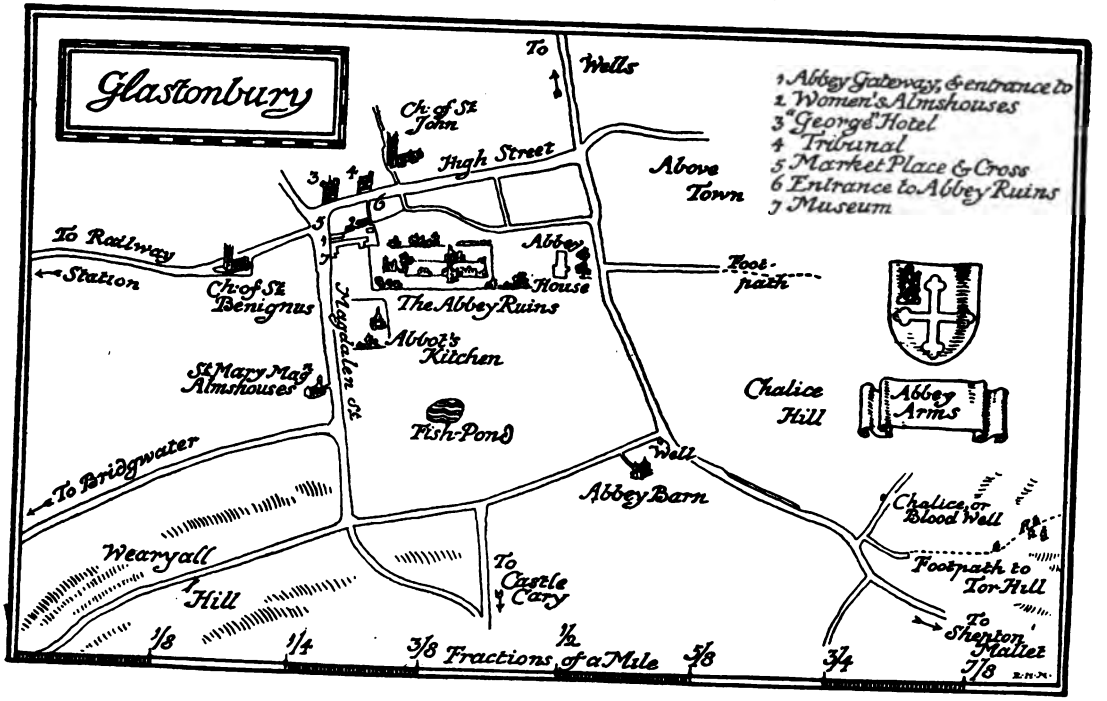
THE TITHE BARN FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

Buck's drawing of the southern view shows the boundary wall leading from the abbot's kitchen towards the western angle of the Lady Chapel, but it is hardly reliable. There seems to have been a pathway through the transepts leading directly north from the house where was once the abbot's lodging towards St. John's Church.

On the south of the abbey buildings and just beyond the road that skirts the great south wall of the monastic precincts is one of the old barns of the monastery. Nearly all the large estates of the abbey had these barns which are called tithe barns, but were far oftener for the storage of the harvest from the lands which the monastic servants tilled themselves. This barn, of which we give an illustration, and another in Chapter xv., is not so large as some, but should be compared with the barn at Pilton, also a

Glastonbury barn and of a similar character. It is 90 feet long and 60 feet broad, and is remarkable not only for the very artistic design which is in the shape of a cross with great doors opening into the north and south transepts, but also for four very beautiful emblems of the four evangelists carved deeply in stone panels and inserted on the gables on the four sides. On the pinnacles of the gables east and west are two figures, one of which is illustrated in Chapter xv., representing the one a female and the other an ecclesiastic, but both are too much weather-worn to make it possible to decide who they represent. There is no record concerning the building of this barn, possibly because it was built out of the ordinary revenues of the abbey and not of the special bounty of some abbot, but it is generally regarded as due to Abbot Nicholas Frome, 1420, who was also the builder of the great boundary walls of the monastery.




Glastonbury
To Wells
Ch. of St John
High Street
1 Abbey Gateway, & entrance to
2 Women's Almshouses
3 "George" Hotel
4 Tribunal
5 Market Place & Cross
6 Entrance to Abbey Ruins
7 Museum
Above Town
To Railway Station
Ch. of St Benignus
Magdalen St
Abbey House
Foot-path
The Abbey Ruins
Abbot's Kitchen
St Mary Magd Almshouses
Chalice Hill
Abbey Arms
Fish-Pond
Well
To Bridgwater
Abbey Barn
Chalice or Blood Well
Footpath to Tor Hill
Wearyall Hill
To Castle Cary
To Shepton Mallet
1/8
1/4
3/8
Fractions of a Mile
1/2
5/8
3/4
7/8

CHAPTER XIII

THE PARISH CHURCHES OF GLASTONBURY

IN addition to the Great Church of the Abbey there were two other churches in Glastonbury, that of St. John the Baptist in the High Street and St. Benignus in Benet Street. The tenants of the Great Abbey, who lived close by and whose houses held in burgage tenure were one day to form a town independent of the monastery, would not have counted for much in the neighbourhood of so great an ecclesiastical corporation. We know very little of the history of those churches, but it seems that there was a Norman church dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and that when Bishop Reginald of Bath (1174-1191) endeavoured to make the Abbot of Glastonbury a member of the chapter of Wells he assigned St. John's, among other churches, as one over whom the abbot should exercise archidiaconal powers. This proposal the abbey very strongly resented, and they immediately took steps to connect the church with the abbey in such a way that there should be no chance of any future archdeacon coming, in the course

of his visitation, so painfully near to the monastery. We find then, in 1200, when one John was the priest, that Bishop Savaric confirms the appropriation of the church of St. John in Northburgh to the abbey, and the rectorial tithes were assigned to the Sacristan as a fund for the benefit of the great monastic church. This Norman church made way in the next century for a large cruciform church with a central tower. This we know from the records of its repair and from a study of the present building. The churchwardens of the church hold almost a unique position, in that they form a corporate body and have a common seal. The latter seal, which is now in use, is probably that used in 1412, and which is mentioned in the records in 1421. The legend is *Sigillum commune Baptisti Glastoniensis*, and represents under a canopy St. John the Baptist. These records modify very largely that which has usually been said and accepted as the story of the present church. It was assigned to Abbot Selwood and to the year 1485. Selwood was a great builder in the abbey, and probably was a prime mover in the rebuilding of the church. The two tombs, however, of Richard Atwell, 1472, on the north side of the chancel and of Joan, his wife, on the south are tombs of real benefactors, whose gifts were largely the cause why the work was undertaken on so fine a scale. John Camel's tomb, formerly in the south transept and now at the west of the south nave aisle, is that of the chapman or buyer of the abbey, and also of one who gave largely for the work in his parish church.

TOMB OF CAMEL, THE ABBEY CHAPMAN

When then we turn to the records it is clear that work was going on all through the fifteenth century, and that whatever Abbot Selwood may have done he cannot have more than completed the work begun many years before his time. In 1428 mention is made of divers expenses towards the reparation of the new church with its porch. In 1425 the pinnacles

of the tower, *i.e.* of the central tower, fell and did great damage to the roof of the church, and labourers were employed to clear away the rubbish *circa rudaciones*. The date of the fall of the tower itself is not exactly known, nor is the date when the western tower was built. The repairs, however, that is to say the transformation from an early English Church to a church of the Perpendicular style, was begun at the west and the work was slowly carried on towards the east. This is just as had occurred in the great Church of the Abbey. So we see that there are four pillars equidistant in the nave giving us five wide arches. Then come two narrower arches carrying the roof of the church across the transepts, and indicating the exact position where the central tower was. May not the west tower have been an afterthought, and only taken in hand after the alterations and repairs in the nave had caused the fall of the central tower? The porch, as we have seen, was erected in 1428, and the 'domus' over it was built in 1484, and in 1470 George the organ-builder set up new organs in the church and Stephen the carver helped him, and work, such as this, would hardly have been undertaken if the whole church was about to be rebuilt. The more we inquire into it the more the parishioners seem to have done for themselves and the less appears to have been the work actually done by Abbot Selwood. The west tower consists of three stages and is 140 feet high. There is nothing in it which may not have been erected in the first half of the fifteenth century, and the embattled parapet on top, which

looks late work, is no portion of the original design, but was added afterwards. It is really a misfit, because it can only rest on the tower by means of the corbel-table built out to hold it. The crocketed pinnacles were added about 1810.

MORTUARY CRUCIFIX, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH

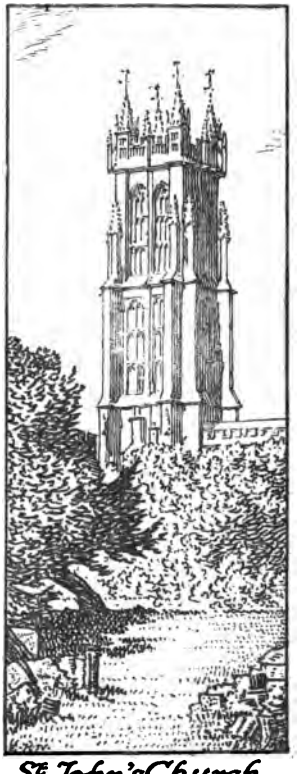
On the north side of the exterior of the church will be found defaced remains of two mortuary crucifixes, the one on the base of the staircase turret leading to the rood loft, and the other on the corner of the north wall of the tower. The interior of the church is remarkably airy and light, but this is due to the singular thinness of the columns that support the roof. They are all the same, and are so attenuated that one has already been rebuilt and others call for immediate attention. It was impossible to support the weight they necessarily have to carry with so small an amount of material.

The nave consists of five arches all of equal size. When the nave meets the transepts we find two lower and narrower arches. These were put in probably after the others and when the town had fallen. The choir is aisled for two bays westward. The staircase leading to the rood loft shows that the screen, on which the rood was, ran across the church separating choir and transepts from the nave. In the churchwardens' accounts there is some mention of the rood. In 1406 we read of the High Cross on the rood beam. In 1439 we find entered certain expenses for the work of the new rood loft, and this probably refers to the rood which was put up after the nave had been transformed. In addition to the High Altar we find three other altars mentioned, those of St. Mary and St. Nicholas and St. George. In 1418 there is a reference to the Yle of St. George, in 1484 to the chapel of St. George. The exact position of these altars is not certain, but probably that of the B. V. M. was on the north, and perhaps in the north aisle of the nave, while St. George's aisle may have been to the south. New altars were provided for the Lady Altar and that of St. Nicholas in 1418. Lights were provided by private offerings to burn before the rood above the screen, and there were also lights known as the Virgin's light, St. Nicholas's light, and St. Katherine's light.

In 1530 a new image of St. George was set over his altar, the gift of the women and maidens of the parish, and in that same year, the restoration being completed, the wardens undertook the reseating of the

church and the town was canvassed for subscriptions, fourteen collectors being appointed for that duty.

Leland the antiquary, passing through Glastonbury about 1534, has some notes on this church. He writes:—'S. John Baptiste on the north side of the principal street of the towne. This is a very fair and lightsum chirche: and the est parte of it is very elegant and isled. The body of the chirche hath . . . arches on eche side. The Quier hath three arches on eche side. The Quadrate tour for belles at the west ende of the chirche is very high and fair. There lyith on the north side of the quier one Richard Atwell, that died *circa annum* D. 1472. This Atwell did much cost in this chirche and gave fair housing that he had builded in the towne vnto it. Joanna wife to Atwell lyith buried in a lyke marble tumbe on the south side of the Quier. There lyith one Camel a gentleman,



St John's Church Glastonbury

in a fair tombe on the south part of the transept of this chirche.'

The church, as is shown in the wardens' accounts, was rich in books and ornaments for the services of the altars. The earliest inventory belongs to the year 1418. The church had then five silver chalices and three silver gilt, two silver cruets, two silver pixes and one of ivory. Six pewter cruets, two latten pixes, one bucket for holy water, one *aspersorium cum manicla*, one lantern and one eelfat or oil vessel. Of vestments there was one suit with cope of blue, and one suit with cope of white and another blue suit without a cope, a cope of yellow, six chesipuls, *i.e.* chasubles, four albs and ten cloths for the altars. In 1421 and in 1428 this list is repeated with additions, the result of later benefactions to the church. The list of books is also interesting. The church possessed, in 1418, a psalter, a portifory, two manuels, three antiphoners, one legend, two books of collects, one processional, one old grail, one ordinal, and two small books of sermons. This list, however, cannot be complete, for there is no mention of a missal. In 1421 are added three missals, three grails, a psalter called alba and four smaller psalters, and in 1428 three processionals and one hymnary.

Through this century these accounts are full of interest, gifts being recorded and purchases being made, and in 1484 the purchase of a *Legenda Aurea* is recorded as having been made in Bristol. As Caxton's edition appeared in 1482 prebendary Daniel, who has transcribed all the accounts, suggests that

this may be a copy from Caxton's press, and probably the first printed book introduced into the church. In 1499 twenty-one chains are purchased for the books, which seems to suggest an increase of printed books and the need to protect them for the use of the church.

The list of churchwardens begins in 1336, and besides the parish priest or curate there were chaplains of the parish and chaplains attached to the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and there were probably chaplains to serve at the St. George altar and also at that of St. Nicholas. The co-operation of the faithful laity is shown by the formation in 1498 of the fraternity of the Name of Jesus.

The second church at Glastonbury is in the West Burgh and is dedicated to St. Benignus. This dedication has been established within the last few years. The popular dedication since the sixteenth century has been that of St. Benedict, and the street which leads past it to the railway station, and which has only come into importance since the railway was opened, is still called Benet Street. John of Glastonbury, however, writing in the fifteenth century, gives us a legend which, if it has no historical basis, yet helps to assure us as to the dedication. He says that in their flight from Ireland the Irish monks brought with them the bones of St. Benignus, the youthful and beloved companion of St. Patrick, who died in 470. In their journey they rested at Man, and these bones were afterwards taken by them to Glastonbury. The last stage of this procession was a little to the west of the convent

wall, and here on the site of the resting place of the precious relics a church was built and consecrated by Bishop John de Villula in 1100. The church was not a parish church, but only a chapel attached, like that of West Pennard, to the church of St. John. Both these chapels were formed into independent parish churches in 1846. Its existence in mediæval times is proved by various benefactions such as that of Adam le Eyre of Sowy in 1274, and of Abbot Breinton in 1341. John Camel, a benefactor of the parish church, seems to have remembered this little chapel in 1487, and so did his daughter Sybil in 1498. The church was restored by Abbot Beere (1493-1524), and his initials R. B. and the abbot's mitre are to be seen on the north porch. The church consisted originally of a nave and chancel. Abbot Beere built the north aisle and perhaps the tower, the former possibly for the convenience of his household at Sharpham, for it came to be called afterwards the Sharpham chapel. The eastern chapel on the south side was built by Mr. Allnutt (1846-1879), the first vicar after the church had been made parochial, and the south aisle was built in 1884, and the next year the whole of the north side except the porch was taken down and rebuilt. Naturally there are no ancient records belonging to the church, but there are not a few references in the account books of the wardens of St. John's of the chapel of St. Benignus. The pillars and their capitals on the north side of the church form part of the work of Abbot Beere. In the porch there is a window on the eastern side which has puzzled anti-

quarians, and the square vessel on the south has been called alternately a holy water-stoup and an alms-box. The church was off the main road and up a narrow street, and on the window of the porch it may be a light was hung to guide people to the church. People, however, in mediæval times were wont to go to their church in the mornings and not like the present generation in the evenings, and the explanation of the window has probably yet to be discovered.

ST. BENIGNUS CHURCH AND THE TOR

In addition to the two parish churches there are three places of worship for Nonconformists. In High Street there is a fine Independent chapel, which was built in 1814. The site was originally that of the Ship Inn, and the first Independent chapel was built here in 1706. The present building is on the site of its predecessor. It was endowed in 1734 with lands to provide a stipend for the minister by the generosity

of Laurence Lindey, and this fund was increased afterwards by John Yeoman, and in 1831 by William Marten.

The Wesleyan chapel is in Lambroke Street and was built in 1825.

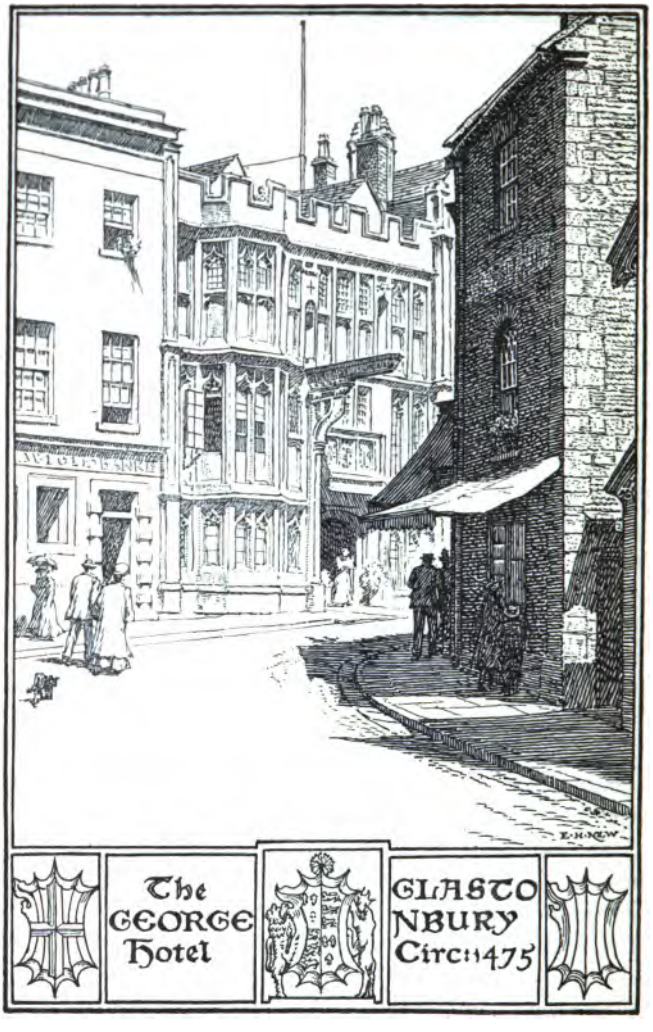
In Magdalen Street there is another Independent chapel. It was formerly a Quakers' Meeting House, and in 1802 it was made an Independent chapel and enlarged in 1838.

The Quakers' first appearance in Glastonbury was in 1667, when they hired the abbot's kitchen for their meetings.

A noticeable feature in Glastonbury, dominating the whole town and visible for many miles round, is the hill to the south-east with the tower of the chapel of St. Michael. The story of St. Collen and the magician Nud is a story indicative of a common practice of the early church to consecrate to Christian saints the hill tops that had been regarded as the abodes of heathen gods. The frequency with which one notices the name of the archangel St. Michael as attached to hill tops is evidence of this. Spiritual beings may inhabit the air, but they are messengers from God and not demons from below. So it was, and probably in the earliest days of Christianity on this isle, that the hill was dedicated to St. Michael. The whole tor is a mass of limestone tilted on a sloping bed of clay. In 1275 the chronicler records the fall of the chapel of St. Michael on the Tor, and assigns the fall to an earthquake. It was probably due, however, to a landslip, for which the structure of the hill lends itself. This

chapel had already existed for more than a century, for in 1127 Henry I. granted by charter an annual fair at the Monastery of St. Michael's Tor—*apud monasterium S. Michaelis de Torre.* In 1290 indulgences were offered to all who should contribute for its restoration, and in the fourteenth century it was probably used as a penance chapel. The present tower probably dates from the fourteenth century, though perhaps some details were added in the following century. The tower consists of three stages with a late parapet of simple pattern. In the plain wall above the west door there are inserted two sunk panels in one of which St. Michael weighs in a scale the soul of a man and Satan on the other side is trying to pull down the balance. The other panel has cut on it a spread eagle. In the second stage there is a small two light window with canopied niches on either side, and on that to the north there is the lower part of some figure. Above this but in the same stage there are three more canopied niches, and in the southernmost the headless figure of an ecclesiastic in the act of blessing. The top stage has a somewhat larger two light window of a much later date and two large canopied niches, and above a similar panel to the one below with the figure of a spread eagle.

It was here that Abbot Whyting and his two monks, John Thorne and Roger James, were hung on November 15, 1539, victims of the avarice of Henry the Eighth and his courtiers.


The
GEORGE
Hotel
GLASTO
NBURY
Circ: 1475

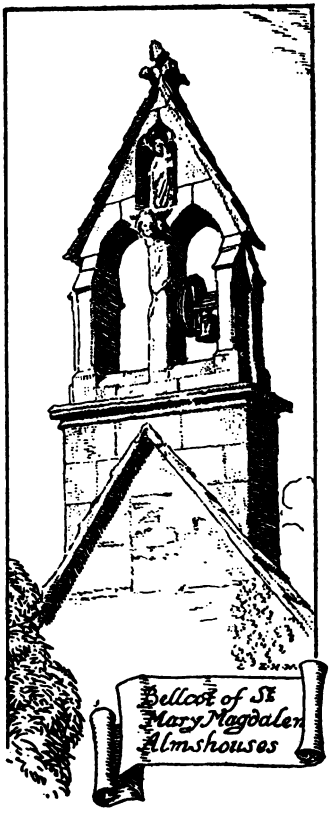
CHAPTER XIV

THE ALMSHOUSES—THE TRIBUNAL—THE ANNALS OF THE TOWN—THE CHALICE HILL SPRING—THE SACRED THORN

WHATEVER customs may have prevailed within the strictly monastic part of the abbey, we need not suppose that all the domestic work necessary in the abbot's lodgings, and in the chambers kept always ready for the reception of guests, was performed by monks or even by men. Women passed through the convent gates to the almonry to receive their doles of food, and respectable women of middle age may very likely have been employed, and especially during the last century of the existence of the abbey, in those parts of the monastery which were not generally entered by the ordinary monks or novices. Behind the Red Lion Inn, which is on the site of the great gateway of the abbey and formed out of part of it, for we know that the gateway was in Magdalen Street, is a small hospital for eleven aged women. It is to the north-east of the great entrance. Over the archway which leads up to it is a Tudor rose and

a canopied crown, and the date 1512. An illustration of the abbey entrance is given in Chapter XII. This hospital consists of tenements for eleven women, with a common hall in the centre for their general use, and at the east end a chapel. This chapel contains in its western gable the arms of the abbey between two Tudor roses, and near the eastern window a shield with Richard Beere's rebus, a cross between two flagons. The foundation of this hospital was due to Abbot Beere, the last abbot but one, 1493-1524. In his terrier of the possessions of the monastery we find an entry of £5 paid by the mill at Northover, lately restored by the said lord Richard, and assigned for the sustenance *paupercularum mulierum*. The hospital was not, as often happened, a guest-house for pilgrims, but a place of rest and refuge for the aged women who had some connection with the abbey, and who now were past service. On the dissolution of the monastery this hospital was saved, and we find mention of it again under the name of the king's almshouse, which received a grant of £10 a year from the Crown in lieu of the rents of lands and the payment from the mill which had been taken over into the king's hands.

Further to the south and on the west side of Magdalen Street there is another set of almshouses for men, which seem to have been a much older foundation. Little or nothing is known of its early history, and it is possible that at first it was used for the reception of men casuals. The buildings appear to



have been of the thirteenth century with certain changes made in the fourteenth century, and probably in the time of Abbot Adam de Sodbury, 1323-1334. It is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and consisted originally of a large hall opening into a chapel to the east. The hall and the chapel were all under the same roof, and probably the sides of the hall were divided off into tenements or chambers open to the roof. The chapel remains, and we give here an illustration of its bell-cot. It is now known as St. Margaret's Chapel. The hall has disappeared, and the small tenements on its basement have been made into separate houses for eleven old men, with a storey for bedrooms, the walls of the hall forming the outer walls of the houses.

In 1609 a great quarrel took place between the authorities of the town and the poor in regard to

these almshouses. The Act of 1602 had very definitely placed on the churchwardens and overseers the duty of providing for the poor of the parish, and they had used these small tenements in which to lodge some indigent tramps. An inquiry took place, and on 20th October of the year 1609 it was decided that the hospital was not for strangers but only for the poor decayed inhabitants of Glastonbury.

It is probable, however, that the churchwardens and overseers were right in what they did as far as St. Mary Magdalen hospital was concerned. Bishops and great ecclesiastical corporations of mediæval times were constantly called upon to exercise hospitality to strangers and travellers, and all applicants for hospitality were not such as could be admitted into monasteries or episcopal manor-houses. A hostel outside but not far off was a necessity, and we find such everywhere in the immediate proximity of some great ecclesiastical corporation. The old abbey hostel for strangers was probably on the site of St. Mary Magdalen hospital. We know very little as to the accommodation provided for poor women who went on pilgrimage or had to travel, though the presence of sisters or Austin canonesses attached to some of these hospitals, as at Bridgewater or Salisbury, suggests that women at times were admitted into them. Both these hospitals having been founded by the Abbots of Glastonbury, and endowed or sustained by the common fund of the abbey, formed a permanent charge on the estates for eleemosynary purposes. They had no endowments for priests or chaplains to serve the

chapels attached to them. They escaped therefore the confiscation of the monastic endowments. The Almshouses

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, it is stated that out of the revenues of the abbey £140, 16s. 8d. was yearly distributed in alms by the monks on the foundation, as they told the commissioners, of King Arthur, King Lucius, the first Christian kings of Britain, and several other Saxon kings and queens, ending with Henry VII.

Greedy as was the Crown and avaricious as were Cromwell and his servants, it was not their purpose to confiscate eleemosynary endowments, and though many such were lost because they were mixed up with the endowment of chantries and mediæval religious services, yet their suppression was never definitely sanctioned by parliament. Thus the duty to support these almshouses passed to the Crown, and they are known to-day as the Royal Hospitals or Almshouses. The Poor Laws of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth became necessary owing to the suppression of the monasteries and the passing away with them of many feudal ties which had linked people together in manor and borough. Vagrancy was a misdemeanour, and in 1609 that which probably had been for all was now to be confined to the aged poor of the parish of Glastonbury.

The Cross at the Junction of Magdalen Street and High Street was erected in 1845, and is somewhat to the east of the earlier mediæval cross which was taken down in 1808. The earlier erection was a square

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building of two arches on each of its four sides, with circular steps around the shaft of the cross. The roof was tiled with stones, and there were gables at the four corners as well as in the centre of each face. The shaft of the cross rose up through the roof which was built into it. The town pump was close to one of its sides, but distinct from it. No date can be assigned to this building, since it has entirely disappeared, but it was probably not earlier than the sixteenth century.

The George Inn, a conspicuous object on entering High Street from the west, offers us the remnants of a good specimen of perpendicular domestic archi-

tecture, and was built by Abbot John Selwood (1456-1493). The frontage is well panelled, and the arms over the entrance-gate are those of Edward IV. It is interesting as being mentioned by John of Glastonbury, who tells us that it was built near the shambles, *domus scabellorum*, and to the east of it, and was in the tenancy of William Do. Abbot Selwood attached to it two closes of land to the north, and gave the whole in 1493 for the further endowment of the office of chamberlain of the abbey. It is referred to in the churchwardens' accounts of St. John's Church for the year 1489, where we get the names of two tenants. The Almshouses

The hospitality of the abbey must have been enormous. The guests' chambers of the abbot's lodging and also of the four priors of the abbey, would accommodate many ecclesiastical dignitaries, and ordinary priests carrying with them their letters of credit as priests would doubtless be received into the monastery. The building however of this inn, which John of Glastonbury calls the Novum Hospitium, shows the need for yet further accommodation. Intercourse was becoming greater and business was rapidly growing. Here then would linger at their own charges pilgrims and travellers, men and women who desired to remain somewhat longer than the two days and two nights for which the abbey offered them hospitality. There were also many who now passed through the town whose fortune did not justify hospitality and whose characters made them incongruous in the abbey. The cellars of the house are vaulted and remarkable, and

on the parapet of the roof there formerly stood, it is said, statues of the twelve apostles.

Somewhat to the west of St. John's Church on the north side of High Street there is an ancient building which is certain to attract the attention of the visitor. It is known as the Tribunal, and was built by Abbot Beere, and since it is mentioned in his terrier it was erected before 1517.

Abbot Beere also erected a hall in the centre of Magdalen Street, which afterwards came to be used for courts and sessions and meetings of the sheriffs and justices of the peace for the county.

These two buildings represented the two distinct offices of the Lord Abbot as the mesne lord of his tenants in Glastonbury and as a great territorial lord exercising powers of high justice in the Glastonbury xii Hides. This district which included Meare, Godney, West Pennard, Baltonsborough, West Bradley, North Wootton, and Pilton, had preserved from the time of the Conquest its ancient privileges and its almost sacred right of sanctuary. As distinct from the county it had its sheriffs and two coroners, who were appointed by the abbot and removable at his will. All writs from the Crown could only be carried out, in reference to any one living in the xii Hides, through these officers.

The Tribunal had reference therefore to those whose crimes were against the laws of the land, and felons, outlaws, and other offenders found in xii Hides would not be sent to the county gaol at Ilchester, but would

be confined at the Tribunal, and if necessary punished there. Beere's terrier describes these underground cellars, and referring to the Tribunal or Aula it is recorded—'sub qua aula est Gaola pro prisonibus in eadem conservandis atque custodiendis.'

The hall in Magdalen Street which gave way in the last century to the town hall was the place of assembly where the abbot dealt with his tenants,

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both free and bondmen, and where at least twice a year they met, *i.e.* on Hock Tuesday, *i.e.* the Tuesday after the octave of the Festival of Easter, and at Michaelmas to report to the abbot's bailiff as to the peace of the borough and on the neglect or observance of the previous orders of the Court. Perhaps at Pilton and Meare the decennarius of the tenants would report in the hall of the abbot's manor-house to the officer whom the abbot had sent to receive the court dues and fines of those manors. Glastonbury also, apart from the monastery, was a manor where were living a good number of tenants of the abbey, holding their lands and houses under burgage terms. The mesne lord was so powerful and so constantly resident among them that while these tenants were wont to assemble and settle their own local controversies in the hall in Magdalen Street, they never, as in Wells, were able to organise in opposition to the abbot. The supervision was too close and constant to allow of the growth of the spirit of independence, and the town hall of to-day represents a condition of local society such as never prevailed while the abbots of the great abbey were in existence.

The tenants' hall in Magdalen Street was, as at Wells, raised on pillars, and the undercroft, which at first was probably used as a place in which to store the tables for the markets came to be used afterwards as a prison-house, where the accused were lodged until acquitted or, as condemned, sent on to Ilchester.

This distinct difference in origin between the two buildings accounts for the difference in their subsequent existence. The Tribunal was distinctly a place for the use of the abbot as a lord holding rights of High Justice. It was part of the abbey and went with it, and when the abbey was dissolved the building sank into an ordinary building. In the eighteenth century a private school for boys was carried on in it. Now it is in private hands as a lawyer's office. In Magdalen Street, however, was the hall of the tenants, burghers, and villeins. That did not go with the abbey. The tenants had rights in it. There they met, and when all the legal privileges of the xii. Hides ceased and Glastonbury residents were governed by county officers and magistrates, the tenants' hall in the midst of their markets came to be the place where the county magistrates administered justice. So that where the tenants' hallmotes were held became in time the town hall until the building a little to the south-east was erected in the nineteenth century, though another building erected by William Strode, a former lord of the manor of Glastonbury, close to the place where the weighbridge now stands, served the purpose of the town for the earlier years of its corporate life.

The Tribunal

These two buildings, the Tribunal and the Town Hall, so distinct and so representative of the ancient life of the tenants of the abbey who lived outside its walls, introduces us to the subject of Glastonbury apart from the abbey. So great an establishment as the monastery would always have many servants,

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skilled craftsmen, men engaged in various trades, and men employed in various services of the abbey, whose presence was necessary for the monks, and yet who could not be lodged within the abbey precincts. It is stated that Glastonbury was a borough under the control of an abbot as early as the eighth century, but the charter of King Ine, A.D. 704, which describes the abbey as situate in the ancient town 'pristina urbs' cannot be accepted as historical or genuine. It is contrary to all that William of Malmesbury has to say as to the earlier history of the monastery. Even as late as the Domesday Inquest in 1086 the place is described as a vill, *villa*, not a borough. There were then twenty-one villein tenants, *i.e.* tenants living in serfdom, and thirty-three bordarii or landless labourers, and seventeen families in a complete servile condition. The building of the parish church of St. John's, of which we have written in Chapter XIII. is, however, evidence of the growth of this body in wealth, numbers, and influence. They had been exchanging their tenure of the houses they inhabited into burgage tenure. How it had come about we do not know, but the town, apart from the abbey, through this increasing collection of tenants holding on burgage tenure, was becoming a borough. In 1319 a writ was issued addressed to the then bailiff, William de Grynstede, by the Crown authorities for the election of two members from the borough to serve in Parliament. This bailiff must not be regarded as in any way an ancient representative of later mayors of the borough. He

was the officer of the abbot, and not necessarily the representative or even the popular guardian of the burghers. Service in Parliament was not then very popular, and we know nothing more of this early enfranchisement of Glastonbury. Doubtless the Crown authorities regarded the place as safe, and that they could look to the abbot to make his tenants vote as the Government or Court desired. Nor could it be regarded as a free election. It would have taken place under the immediate supervision of the abbot's officer and after hearing his instructions, and the gathering would have been in some hall which served for such purposes anterior to the building by Abbot Beere of his Guildhall in Magdalen Street.

Yet while the proximity of the great and powerful abbey checked the growth of independence among these burghers, it was a very great gain to them to have its protection, and so long as it flourished the people grew rich in the traffic which the abbey created. When then in 1539 the abbey was dissolved, the town was discovered to have no real existence. The people were not burghers of the borough of Glastonbury, but inhabitants of the parish of Glastonbury and of the chapelry of St. Benedict annexed. Meanwhile the action of Henry VIII. had brought the wardens of St. John the Baptist Church into prominence as public officers, having an office recognised by the State. The Established Church was to be used by the Crown to build up a new system of local government. The Act of

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1535-36 for the punishment of sturdy vagabonds and vagrants placed certain duties on the churchwardens for the relief of the poor and impotent, and was an advance on anything that had been attempted before to make them act in a civil capacity. Duties which had been exercised by manorial officers were now to be attached to men who held primarily an ecclesiastical office. In the reign of Edward VI., 1552, the poor man's box became a regular addition to the furniture of the church, and all through the reign of Queen Elizabeth the position of the churchwardens grew more and more responsible, and the parochial vestry more important. Manor courts and hundred courts were waning, and each parish was becoming a definite unit in the civil government of the country and each manor less so. Villein tenants were giving way to freeholders, and copyholders or leaseholders who were managing their local affairs in vestry rather than in the manorial hall, by direction of the churchwardens and overseers rather than under the eye of the mesne lord or his bailiff. Already before the dissolution of the abbey most of the tenants had become freeholders. In the survey of 1539, made while Abbot Whyting was being tried in London on a charge of treason, it is recorded that there were in Glastonbury one hundred and thirteen men able to serve the king, and to show the distinction it is added that there were also fourteen bondmen, *i.e.* men in a state of villeinage and unable to move away from the parish.

The annals of the place, therefore, as distinct from

the abbey, are absorbed after 1539 in the annals of the parish of St. John the Baptist and the churchwardens, and from 1600 the overseers with them become more and more responsible for the keeping of the peace and for the relief of the poor. This accounts for their attempt to use the men's almshouse as a house for the relief of vagrants, the attempt which drew forth the protest of the inhabitants mentioned above. The judgment of the Crown Auditor which definitely confined its use to the local poor was delivered 20th October 1609 in the presence of Hugh Mortimer Wick, the deputy bailiff of Glastonbury.

The Annals of the Town

In 1547, on the rearrangement of the endowments of the bishopric of Bath and Wells between the Crown and Bishop Barlow, the rectory of St. John's Church, which in the days of the Abbey had gone to the support of the needs of the monastic Sacristan, was conveyed by the Crown to the bishop, but this did not bring the bishop into any closer touch with the church than he was as bishop before.

The registers of St. John the Baptist Church, as distinct from the churchwarden accounts of funds spent on the church, which begin in the fourteenth century, do not come to our assistance until 1603. They therefore fail us for the reign of Queen Elizabeth and the early days of the re-creation of the social life of the town. Of that period very little is known. In 1606 the sea bank further down on the moor broke and much damage was done by the water, the floods destroying all the lower parts of the town.

In 1642 the Civil War broke out, as far as Somerset was concerned, in the fight that took place at Marshall's Elm near Street, the friends of the Parliament being routed by the Royalist soldiers who under Colonel Lunsford and Sir John Stowell had ridden forth from Glastonbury on August 2 on their road towards Boroughbridge. The Marquis of Hertford was at that time in Wells, and owing to the advance of a Parliamentarian force from Shepton Mallet on August 8, retired from Wells, falling back on Glastonbury and passing on towards Sherborne.

In 1658 a serious fire broke out which consumed all the old houses from the top of High Street as far as St. John's Church.

During the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion several men from Glastonbury in spite of the orders of Colonel Faversham and Captain Luttrell went to Bridgewater and joined the duke's forces, and six men were afterwards hung here by order of Judge Jefferies.

The history of the town, however, begins in 1705. There had been for some years a movement among the inhabitants to obtain a charter of incorporation, and largely through the efforts of Mr. Peter King, a native of Glastonbury and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, a charter was granted to the town by Queen Anne, on 23rd June 1705. Mr. Peter King was appointed recorder and Mr. John Aplin the first mayor. The corporation was to consist of eight capital burgesses and sixteen inferior burgesses. As

a town, therefore, the life of Glastonbury is not long, and even this short life of two hundred years is impoverished by the absence of any old minute-books of the decrees of the corporation or the doings of the burgesses. In 1708 Peter King resigned his recordership in Glastonbury to become recorder of the city of London.

The corporation, as drawn up in the charter of 1705, continued until the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, when the corporation was reformed and consists to-day of a mayor, four aldermen, and twelve councillors.

This change brought to an end the office of the recorder, and Glastonbury was brought again into the jurisdiction of the Quarter Sessions of the county magistrates. From the date of its charter there were eight recorders, viz., Peter King, Fortescue Turberville, Edward Phelipps, Davidge Gould, Henry Gould, Henry Bosanquet, Edmund Griffith and William Dickinson of Kingweston. Peter King, the first of the recorders, rose to be Lord Chancellor of England. He was a native of Glastonbury and his parents lived in the manor house at the bottom of Northload Street, of which now only a fragment remains. His mother Anne, the wife of Jerome King, was a sister of John Locke the philosopher. He was educated at Exeter and brought up as a presbyterian in religion. Three years after the giving of the charter, 1705, he resigned the office of recorder in order to become recorder of London. In 1725 he was made a peer with the title of Lord Ockham of Ockham in the

county of Surrey and the same year became Lord Chancellor. This office he held until 17th November 1733, when a paralytic stroke compelled him to resign. In his place, or rather while he was contemplating resigning the office of recorder of Glastonbury, Mr. Fortescue Turberville became deputy recorder, and in 1708 Mr. Edward Phelipps was appointed as recorder and took the oath in the Guildhall called the Churchhouse of Glaston. He became Member of Parliament for Somerset in 1722 and died in 1734. Henry Gould, and his father Davidge Gould, came from Sharpham where Sir Henry Gould, a judge of the King's Bench, had settled down and where he died in 1710. His daughter Sarah, the sister of Davidge, was the mother of Henry Fielding the novelist, who was born at Sharpham. Henry Gould became recorder in 1748 and died in 1793. He was knighted on becoming chief-justice of the court of Common Pleas. Edmund Griffith became recorder in 1809 and seems to have been treated in a somewhat unhandsome manner. William Dickinson of Kingweston was the member for the county, and his influence in Glastonbury was of course considerable. In 1821 the corporation passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Edmund Griffith 'for the very handsome and polite manner in which he has resigned his office as their recorder for the purpose of enabling them to obtain the assistance of a gentleman in the neighbourhood.' Clearly the corporation hoped for much from the squire of Kingweston, but the Act of 1835 put an end to the office of recorder and therefore to Mr.

Dickinson's official connection with Glastonbury as the ambition of the townsmen had put an end to the career of his predecessor.

By the side of the town hall and forming part of the same building is the excellent Archæological Museum of the town. It is a proof of the keen interest which the citizens take in the past history of their town, and though it has only been established in recent days, has a rich collection of antiquities concerning the abbey and the locality. It is also the treasure-house of the valuable discoveries made in the neighbourhood at the prehistoric lake village. The story of this very early settlement hardly belongs to the story of Glastonbury. Interesting and important as the discovery is, yet the history of the settlement can only be deduced from the rude implements, hearthstones, and wattled fences of which remains have been found on the surface of the peat moor. The visitor will find at the museum a pamphlet which will tell him all that experts can say concerning the age when this settlement was founded, and its importance relative to our general knowledge concerning primitive man in the west of Europe. The story of the discovery and how the site has been opened out and the search continued is full of interest. But it is an interest of its own. The story of Glastonbury must be confined to the place where these relics have been now safely housed and skilfully arranged.

The story of the Holy Grail, though in the twelfth

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and thirteenth centuries linked closely with the story of the wanderings of St. Joseph of Arimathea, became in time almost lost sight of. The shrine of St. Joseph was everything, and the monks of Glastonbury were loud in their praise of the power evoked from it and the miraculous cures which had taken place there and on those who had come as pilgrims to call upon the saint for his aid. In the *Life of St. Joseph*, printed by Pynson in 1520, we are told that he collected in two cruets the blood which fell from our Lord's Body as He hung on the cross, and took them with him in his wanderings. What happened to them is not related. In the fourteenth-century manuscript story of St. Joseph we are only told that Christ gave him the Grail Ark, and that on his looking into it he saw

> '. . . an outer yclothed with clothes ful riche
> Uppon that on end lay the launce and the nayles
> And uppon that other ende the disch with the blode
> And a vessel of gold geyrliche bitwene.'

The story, however, had in some way or other captured the minds of the people of Glastonbury, and they had localised the spot where the Grail was hidden. Chalice Hill lies to the north of the Tor Hill and almost due east of the abbey precincts. Between the two hills there is a spring from which flow two streams of water. This spring has been known as the Blood or Chalice Well, and people were wont to use the water from the higher spring for domestic purposes. They had paved its course and arranged that it should fall from a spout the better to catch it

in the vessels they carried for the purpose. As the abbey and all its grandeur and interest faded into the past, the people of Glastonbury seem to have fixed their attention on this spring and talked of it perhaps somewhat sceptically as a holy spring, the water of which was more or less efficacious for healing. Certainly for the last century of the existence of the abbey nothing is known of this spring, and it is probable that the monks were more intent on the water of the so-called well of St. Dunstan under the Lady Chapel than on the merits of this stream which had continued to run for many centuries.

The Chalice Hill Spring

In 1750, however, the people of Glastonbury became very excited concerning the efficacy of this water. It was said to have great curative power. In October of that year a man, Matthew Chancellor of North Wootton, declared that he had been much afflicted with asthma and other troubles, and that one night after a violent fit of coughing he fell asleep and dreamed that he stood on a horse track where he saw some remarkably clear water, and some one stood by him and pointed to the water and bade him in secret drink of it for seven successive Sunday mornings and he would then be healed of his disorders—if you will go to that freestone shoot and take a clean glass and drink a glassfull fasting seven Sunday mornings following and let no person see you, you will find a perfect cure of your disorder and then make it public to the world—so on the following Sunday morning he went to Glastonbury, which was about three miles off, and found the stream and drank, and having done

so for the seven Sundays specified, he realised that he was cured from his ailments.

So Matthew Chancellor the dreamer, as he is called in the entry of his burial, in 1765, wrote out a statement of his case and an assertion of its veracity, and soon crowds gathered to test the efficacy of the waters of the spring.—'May 31, 1751, Matthew Chancellor made oath before the Mayor of Glastonbury that he was perfectly cured of an asthma, under which he had laboured for almost thirty years, by drinking a quarter of a pint of the waters from the Chain Gate every Sunday morning, and at no other time, seven successive Sundays. Signed, Matthew Chancellor, Thomas White, Mayor. Attested, R. Blake.'

On May 5, 1751, says the *Gentleman's Magazine*, ten thousand people came to Glastonbury, Somersetshire, from Bristol, Bath, and other parts, to drink the waters there for their health. A pamphlet was written on the efficacy of the waters, and in it the writer declares there was nothing artful in Matthew Chancellor, and to Matthew's testimony the physician who wrote it added those of many others.

For Glastonbury, of course, this event proved for the time very lucrative. The water was carefully collected and sent out in sealed bottles and sold at the apothecaries in the Strand. A pump-room was built for the convenience of those who came to drink the waters, and the influx of visitors created a demand for additional places of accommodation for them. Soon, however, people began to say that the water had nothing in it to make it specially curative and to suspect a Jesuit

plot. They had heard the townspeople complain of their falling market, which they declared had begun from the time they built their new Market House with stones gathered from the ruins of the abbey. In 1774 the *Grand Gazetteer*, which Brice printed at Exeter, contemplated the episode as an instance of an exploded fallacy—thus great in expectation Glastonbury stood about a twelvemonth since. But oh, how much are the mighty fallen! Walk through it now and Glastonbury looks not vastly otherwise than as it did a year before; for its waters have been found very little else than waters.

Among the wonders of Glastonbury were two trees, of which even in the time of the monks the extraordinary properties were openly declared. In the *Life of St. Joseph of Arimathea*, printed by Richard Pynson in 1520, we are told—

> Great mervaylles men may se at Glastenbury
> One of a walnut tree that there dooth stande
> In the holy grounde called the semetory,
> Harde by the place where Kynge Arthur was founde
> South fro Joseph's chapell it is walled in rounde,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Thre hawthornes also that groweth in Werall
> Do burge and bere grene leaues at Christmas
> As fresh as other in May, whan the nightyngals
> Wrestes out her notes musycall as pure as glas.

The walnut tree passes away with the dissolution of the abbey, and was probably destroyed when the monastic remains became the shelter of the Walloon

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settlers. The hawthorn has, however, lived on in fame, and the legend how that it is the staff of St. Joseph, which, when he stuck it into the ground, like Aaron's rod, budded and blossomed, has clung to Glastonbury long after the destruction of the shrine of St. Joseph. The story, however, of the hawthorn was well known when the visitors of the Vicar-General came to examine the monastery in 1535. Richard Layton, writing soon after to Cromwell, tells of his visit to Glastonbury, and adds—'by this bringer, my servant, I send you relicks. First two flowers, wrapped in white and black sarcenet that on Christen mass even, *horâ ipsâ qua Christus natus fuerat*, will spring and burgen and bare blossomes. *Quod expertum est*, saith the prior of Maiden Bradley.'

During the seventeenth century there are many references to this tree, and its fame brought about its partial destruction.

The reputed thorn grew on Wyrrall Hill in the park which belonged then to Mr. William Strode, and a fanatical puritan cut down one of the two trunks it possessed, and would have cut down the whole of it had he not met with an accident and cut himself. The fallen trunk was, however, still connected with the root by some bark, and continued to live and bear leaves and blossoms for more than thirty years afterwards. In Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1655, there is a view of Wyrrall Hill with a tree on the side of it which is marked as Sacra Spina, the Holy Thorn.

In 1596, Gerald in his Herball, says of the hawthorn

and its various species—we have in the west of England one growing at a place called Glastonbury, which bringeth forth his flowers about Christmas by the report of divers of good credit who have seen the same; but myself have not seen it, and therefore leave it to be better examined. Bishop Goodman of Gloucester in 1653 refers to the thorn and its habit of blossoming at Christmas time, and of the fanatic who attempted to cut it down, and writing to Oliver Cromwell says, 'Certainly the thorn was very extraordinary; for at my being there I did consider the place, how it was sheltered; I did consider the soil and all other circumstances, and yet I could find no natural cause.'

The Sacred Thorn

It is said that Bishop Montague of Bath and Wells was wont to offer Queen Anne, the wife of James I., Christmas blossoms from the thorn from 1608-1618.

Dr. Plot writing in 1677 says, 'and hither, I think, may be referred the Glastonbury thorn, in the park and gardens of the right honourable the Lord Norreys, that certainly buds and sometimes blossoms at or near Christmas. Whether this be a plant originally from Oxfordshire or brought hither from beyond seas, or a graft from the old stock of Glastonbury is not easy to determine.' 'As for the excellent and peculiar quality that it hath some take it as a miraculous remembrance of the birth of Christ, first planted by Joseph of Arimathea, others only esteem it as an earlier sort of thorn peculiar to England, and others are of opinion that it is originally a foreigner of some of the southern countries, and so hardy a plant, that

it still keeps its times of blossoming, which in its own country might be about the end of December, though removed hither into a much colder climate.' From Eyston we get the legend about St. Joseph's staff. He was a devout Roman Catholic and wrote in 1715 the *Little Monument of Glastonbury*, where he tells us—

'I was told by the innkeeper, where I set up my horses, who rents a considerable part of the enclosure of the late dissolved abbey, that St. Joseph of Arimathea stuck on Wearyall Hill his staff being a dry hawthorn stick which grew and continually budded upon Christmas day.'

Eyston says also that already there were many shoots and trees growing from the original stock, and that there was a person about Glastonbury who had a nursery of them and sold them for a crown apiece, or as he could get.

Ray, the botanist, regarded it as merely a freak of the common hawthorn's, but Martin and Withering considered it as a distinct species. In the *Every Day Book* of 1826 it is said that Mr. Millar raised many plants from haws brought from Aleppo, and all proved to be what are called Glastonbury thorns. There are two kinds of thorns known as the Morocco and the Siberian thorn, which come into leaf and blossom unusually early, but they do not flower twice. It is probable that the Glastonbury thorn is a reminiscence of the Crusades, or of some pilgrims to the Holy Land who brought the thorn as a present to some abbot. There are many good sized thorns of this species growing in the neighbourhood which,

if the end of December and the early days of January are mild, come into blossom then. The lack of warmth, however, makes a full blossom rare until the later spring, when the tree blossoms afresh, and as the other hawthorns of England.

CHAPTER XV

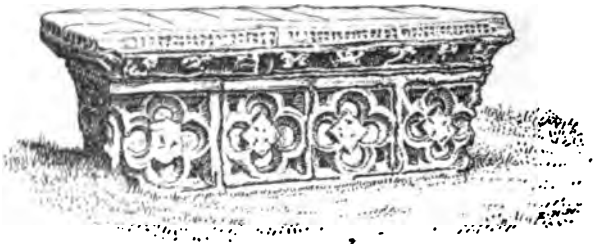
THE ITINERARY OF GLASTONBURY

THE abbey precincts form an irregular four-sided figure of which the south and west sides are longer than those of the north and east. They comprise about 36 acres of land, and all is enclosed by a high wall, and outside of this wall rose up in time, and chiefly on the northern and western sides, the nucleus of the town. All that is to be seen therefore in Glastonbury is practically to be seen in the four streets that surround the abbey, and so the visitor is not likely to meet with any great difficulty in his search. The entrance to the abbey is unfortunately not easy to find. The great entrance on the west side, and the entrance which the visitor would come to first of all if he came from the railway station, is now part of the Red Lion Inn, and is no longer a means by which the ruins may be reached. There was another entrance on the north side, and the porter's lodge was enclosed by a court of small houses known as Hanover Square. This entrance was the usual entrance to the great

monastic church. It probably did not give admission to the conventual buildings, which were to the south of the church, and approached from the chief entrance on the west. Unfortunately this northern side of the abbey has been so much hidden by the modern houses which form High Street, that the entrance to the abbey has to be sought through a passage running at the side of the Assembly Rooms, and gained by passing under the arch in High Street that leads to them.

The railway station is happily at some distance from the town, and the old streets have not been altered for the convenience of the railway. On the south-west, north-west and north there are three fords through the River Brue and the mill-stream, by which the roads from Street and Meare entered the town. There are now, of course, bridges where formerly the traveller had to pass through the firm bed of the stream. The road from the station to the town bears the name of Benedict Street, sometimes contracted into Bennett Street, or Bennings. The name is derived from the church which one passes on the way, and which is not dedicated to St. Benedict, but to St. Benignus the hermit. The church was built by Abbot Beere, and his rebus and initials can be discerned on it. The street, however, existed before the church, and was known as Madilode Street (1402), and the word 'lode' indicates a ford through a stream. So Madilode Street is the street that leads through the middle ford, the others being Northlode and the lode or ford near St. Bridget's

Chapel, and leading to Sharpham Park. St. Benedict's Street brings the visitor into Magdalen Street, and the broad space where markets are held, and where once the hall of the tenants of the abbey stood. This street forms the western boundary of the abbey. Across the street and somewhat to the right he sees the Red Lion Inn on the site, and still part of the main entrance of the abbey. The entrance to the yard of the Red Lion leads up to the almshouses for women, founded by Abbot Beere, which we have already described. If we turn to the right on coming into Magdalen Street and go a little to the south, the most conspicuous object is the abbot's kitchen. It is on our left, and is specially conspicuous because the abbey wall has been pulled down. Beyond the kitchen, but further south, was the abbot's lodgings. These have been all demolished within the last century and a half, and the site is partly hidden from view by the block of modern houses which face the road. Almost opposite this site and on the western side of the road is the ancient hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, now called the King's Almshouses for men. It is from this that the street used to be called Spital Street, 1533, and in still earlier times, South Street. The central portion of the street used to be called the Armoury, which was doubtless a corruption of Almonry, since the street led the poor pilgrims and wanderers to the Almonry of the abbey, which was to the north of the abbot's lodgings, and between his kitchen and the western end of the old Lady Chapel. Magdalen Street then



ALTAR-TOMB IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD

carries us on to Bere Lane, which it crosses on the top of the higher ground. Bere Lane was the southern boundary of the abbey enclosure.

If the visitor as he goes out of Benedict Street turns to the left, he sees facing him Northlode Street, which runs due north and over the stream. Here in the broad space was the Market Place, where the Market Cross stood, and where he sees standing to-day its modern representation. He sees also in front of him forming the north-west end of High Street the George or Pilgrims' Inn, of which we have already given some account. High Street runs on due east from the northern end of the Market Place. It was called Great Street in 1313, and High Street in 1366. On the left, as one goes eastward towards St. John's Church, we see the building known as the Tribunal, and on the right and almost opposite to it, the modern passage which gives us entrance to the abbey grounds.

In St. John's Churchyard on the north side, which the visitor should go and see, are two mortuary

crucifixes much mutilated, but still discernible, built into the wall of the church, one of them being close to the outer wall of the rood-loft staircase, and the other against the north wall of the tower. He should also see an altar-tomb in the churchyard, of which we give here an illustration, and which is certainly remarkable. Close to the church, on the northern side of High Street, runs Church Lane or Norbin's Lane or Road, really North Binne Lane, and on the south, running behind High Street and between the houses there and the abbey walls, is Silver Street.

Proceeding then along High Street or Silver Street eastwards, one comes to Lambrook Street, the name of the road that runs to the east of the abbey between those two streets. At the eastern end of High Street running north is the new Wells Road. Opposite High Street eastward and mounting the hill is Bove Town Street, so called in 1305, or Buttowne Street, 1690, the old Wells Road and Jacob's Ladder, the steep climb which led to the now vanished chapel of St. James.

Opposite Silver Street and running eastward we meet with Laundry Lane, a short street formerly called Launder Lane, leading up to the water-course in Bushy Combe, and where formerly the women of Glastonbury gathered for their washing, as now we see outside the villages in northern France.

Continuing our walk on the eastern boundary of the abbey enclosure, we pass from Lambrook Street to Chilkwell Street, opposite to the entrance of

The Tithe Barn, Glastonbury: W. Gable

the modern house known as the abbey. The origin of the name is not very certain, but perhaps it means Chalice Well Street. Out of it leading up eastwards to Chalice Hill is Dods Lane, so called because once it was noted for its wet dirty condition. It leads us on to Bushy Combe and Chalice Hill, and here at times in the twilight might be seen sitting on the stile an old headless man said to be the ghost of poor Abbot Whyting. This vision, however, is not guaranteed to every visitor, since there are certain qualifications necessary for this power of sight, and these are by no means universal.

Going then further south we meet with the eastern end of Bere Lane. A little further south and on the

left we come to St. Joseph's or Chalice Well or the Blood Spring and the steep path up the hill to St. Michael's Tor and chapel. At the corner where Chilkwell and Bere Lanes meet was formerly a cross known as Sticker's Cross, and the road was closed with chains in former times, so that this corner was known as the Chain Gateway. Bere Lane, though greatly improved by Abbot Beere, has nothing to do with him in the derivation of its name. The one object of interest is the beautiful tithe-barn which we have already described, and the barton of the abbey gave the name to the lane in which it is situated. We give here a view of the western gable of the barn. To the west as the visitor continues his walk beyond Bere Lane he comes to Wyrrall Hill, corrupted into Weary all Hill, and on the northern slope the celebrated St. Joseph's Thorn was wont to grow. We have already told the legend and considered the nature of this hawthorn. The name Wyrrall is Celtic, and is found in other parts of England where Celtic place-names still exist, and describes the general character of the hill-top.

List of the Abbots of Glastonbury

LIST OF THE ABBOTS OF GLASTONBURY

There are two lists of the early abbots of Glastonbury which seem to have a common foundation, but it is certain that we can only rely on a few of the names

Wells and Glastonbury

before the time of St. Dunstan. The names within the line of the list are of abbots who were most probably fictitious.

	St. Patrick.
	St. Benignus.
Worgret, 601.	
Lademund.	
Bregoret.	
	Beorthwaldws.
	Hemgisel.
Beorwald, 705.	
Aldbeorth.	
Atfrith.	
Kemgisel.	
Guba.	
Ticca.	Not in his right order.
Cuma.	
Walthern.	
Tumberht.	
Beadulf.	
Muca.	
Gutlac, 824-850.	
Ealmund, 850-866.	
Herefyrth, 866-880.	
Striwerd.	
Ealthun, 905-927.	
Aelfric.	
Dunstan, 943-957.	
Œgelward, 962.	
Sigegar, 973.	
Beorhtred, 1000.	
Brichtwin, 1017.	Bishop of Wells, 1027.

Œgelward II., 1027-1053.
Ægelnoth, 1053. Deposed, 1078.
Thurstin, 1078-1100.
Herlewin, 1101-1120.
Siegfried Pelochin, 1120-1126.
Henry of Blois, 1126-1171. Bishop of Winchester, 1129.
Robert of Winchester, 1171-1178.
Henry of Scully, 1189-1192. Bishop of Worcester.
Savaric, Bishop of Bath, 1192-1205.
Jocelyn, Bishop of Bath, 1206-1219.
William [Vigor ?], 1219-1223.
Robert, Prior of Bath, 1223-1234.
Michael of Ambresbury, 1235-1252.
Roger de Ford, 1252-1261.
Robert of Petherton, 1261-1274.
John of Taunton, 1274-1291.
John of Kent, 1291-1303.
Geoffrey de Fromond, 1303-1322.
Walter of Taunton, 1322-1323.
Adam of Sodbury, 1323-1334.
John de Breynton, 1334-1342.
Walter de Monington, 1342-1375.
John Chynnock, 1375-1420.
Nicholas Frome, 1420-1456.
Walter More, 1456- .
John Selwood, 1456-1493.
Richard Beere, 1493-1524.
Richard Whyting, 1525-1539.

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Printed by T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press